A KINGDOM FOR SALE

Prasanna Kumar Mishra

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(Kujang under British Rule : 1803 - 1875)

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In Memory

of

My Father

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PREFACE

This monograph entitled "A Kingdom for Sale" with a sub-title, "Kujang under British Rule : 1803-1875" is the outcome of a micro-study on Orissa history. The subject-matter though not unknown to the historians, scholars and the public, yet, hitherto no exhaustive and intensive study has been made on the dynastic history of Orissa; especially that of Kujang. Attempts have, therefore, been made to bring to light a complete picture of the ill-fated kingdom.

British occupation of Orissa in 1803 was followed by consolidation of their authority and establishment of a stable government in the occupied territories. In course of subjugating various ruling chiefs and zamindars the British encountered stiff resistance. Many kingdoms and ruling dynasties in the process fell prey to the alien government.

Khurda, citadel of the Gajapati dynasty, was besieged and made a khas tahsil of the British. Its minor king Mukunda Dev II was sent as a prisoner to Midnapur in 1805. Ghumsar, the ruling house of the Bhanjas and a zamindary in the Chicacole Circar, was attached permanently to the British territory in 1839 owing to non-payment of arrear dues and rebellious nature of the Raja. Consequently, the ruler Dhananjay Bhanja forfeited all his claims over the Zamindari. Banki, a tributary state, was on a triffling cause, confiscated in 1840 and its king was made a prisoner for life in the Cuttack town. Angul, another important but powerful tributary state, was also confiscated in 1848 to the British Government not because of the recalcitrant nature of the invalid king Somanath Singh, but because of the strategical position of the Mahal, and for the politico-economic benefits of the reigning power. Sambalpur was lapsed to

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the British under the 'Doctrine of Lapse' of Lord Dalhousie in 1849. In 1855 Khondmal was carved out of the tributary mahal of Boudh and was kept under the direct charge of a British tahsildar. Besides these, many more big or small tributary states and zamindaries were sold in auction or were temporarily attached in the first half of the 19th century. For example, during a period of ten years from1806 to 1816 a total number of 1011 estates were sold by public auction. Also a large number of zamindaries and tributary mahals were brought under the Court of Wards management during the minorities of their zamindars or ruling chiefs.

The most striking and significant event in the second half of the 19th century was the sale of the kingdom of Kujang. Kujang, though a killajat estate like Aul, Kanika, Harishpur, Marichpur, Bishenpur, Patia, Sukinda, Dompara, Darpan, Kalkala and Madhupur etc., directly subjugated by the Moghuls, Marathas and the British authorities, the Rajas always had been maintaining a separate identity and independence of its own. This ruling house belonged to the Sendh dynasty founded by a Kshatriya chief in 1667, and thereafter, the ruler styled himself as king of Kujang. Kujang, before and after the occupation of Orissa, like a thorn in the body, caused various problems to the East India Company Government. Since the chiefs of Kujang along with those of Aul and Kanika were the masters of the sea on the Bay of Bengal, and were troubling and torturing the European ships and sailors, the British Government during and shortly after their occupation of Orissa tried to bring these ruling chiefs under control. Kujang was sternly treated. The ruler of the estate even then opposed the new settlement operation initiated by John Melville, the Civil Commissioner for the affairs of Cuttack. Kujang also joined the confederation formed by the Rajas of Khurda and Kanika against the British in 1804. The British authorities suppressed the early resistance movement ruthlessly, imprisoned these three rulers and awarded

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capital punishment to the chief architect, Jayakrushna Rajguru. Further, Khurda was permanently made a khas tahsil, but Kujang and Kanika were temporarily attached. Although, later on, after their release from jail at Midnapur, the estates of Kujang and Kanika were returned to them, trouble started afresh in Kujang due to its internal problems.

During the Khurda rebellion of 1817, the people of Kujang joined the anti-British movement. The Raja of Kujang was helpless but was suspected of aiding the rebels against the British. Consequently, the Raja was dragged to Cuttack and kept as a prisoner. Kujang remained temporarily under the control of the British. From the material point of view the estate was completely emptied by 1818. Moreover, all the military expenditure incurred in the suppression of the rising in Kujang were realised from the estate, which in course of time fell a heavy burden on the raiyats. Furthermore, the Mouza Pandua, the granary of Kujang, was snatched away in order to be sold to a Bengali Zamindar. Finally, the British revenue policy-exhorbitant rates of rent, excessive demand, burden of the settlement operations-, and above all, the natural calamities like floods and the famine of 1866 brought the kingdom to a state of bankruptcy and made the king a pauper.

Kujang, once a rich, prosperous and powerful kingdom, was at last sold in auction like a commodity for Rs.5½ lakh only, to the Maharaja of Burdwan in 1868. In doing so the British authorities justified their action stating that the Magistrate of Cuttack had already recommended since October 1813 to the Government of Bengal for sale or attachment of the estate of Kujang without any fear.

I am obliged to the authorities and the personnel of the Board of Revenue, Orissa, Cuttack and the State Archives of Orissa, Bhubaneswar for their ungrudging help and kind cooperation in the

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search of source material . Sincerely I express my thankfulness to Sri Jatindra Kumar Naik, Reader in English, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, for his valuable suggestions and active help in the construction of this book. And, I owe a lot to my wife Dr (Mrs) Satyabhama Pati, Senior Lecturer in History, B.J.B. College, Bhubaneswar, without whose valuable and timely suggestion this monograph could not have been completed.

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Prasanna Kumar Mishra

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ONE

Kujang was a quillajat estate situated on the eastern sea board of Orissa. In ancient days it was known as Ashwastha Kshetra, and thus popularly believed to be a holy place for the Hindus. The famous river Mahanadi flows through this estate. From the Aswastha Kshetra Mahatmya, an old treatise, it is known that this land of Kujang was once an island in the Bay of Bengal, and was used mostly by seafaring pirates and fishermen. The accounts of Hieun Tsang reveal that the inhabitants of ancient Kujang were oppressed by the warlike sea-pirates. The Chinese traveller who had visited Orissa in the 7th Century A .D. was warned not to come anywhere near the resistless fleet of these demons.[1] The whole of eastern coast on the Bay of Bengal was turned with a dreaded place by them. The ships wrecked in the middle part of the coast of Orissa i.e. near Kujang, Aul and Kanika, were subjected to cruel depredations. As these territories were filled with dense jungles, particularly in the rainy season, communication from outside was almost closed and their chiefs considered themselves secure against punishment from their overlords. So they indulged in criminal activities.[2] Even by the beginning of the sixteenth century the European navigators were afraid of the sea-pirates and fishermen of Kujang. Towards the end of March 1633, Cartright who, alongwith his seven associates marched towards Orissa for the purpose of spreading their trade and commerce, abandoned the midway of Kujang, a comparatively easy path for fear of these pirates, and leaving their ships near Harish garh, took to a difficult path towards Cuttack.[3]

Kujang consisted of two distinct tracts, the first, a marshy and almost uninhabited strip along the sea-coast, and secondly, behind

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this there were low-lying arable lands intersected by innumerable streams and tidal creek, which both inundated the land and supplied means of irrigation in the cold weather. The harvest was liable to be destroyed by storms and cyclones as well as by floods in river Mahanadi.[4] The area of Kujang was 358. 74* square miles or 229,336 acres. Of these, 100,000 acres were cultivated and the remaining 129,336 uncultivated lands. The approximate population of the estate stood at 18,059.[5]

The kingdom of Kujang was divided into eight small forts, namely, Dhobei Garh, Kujang Garh, Ambiki Garh, Ali Garh, Kankardia Garh, Kaladwip, Ramito Garh and Palli Garh. All these garhs or forts were placed under fishermen-chiefs. Ramito Garh and Palli Garh chiefs were Gokha by caste and the chiefs of other garhs were fishermen. Tradition has it that in the later days, Kshatriyas of Talcher and other areas came and defeated the chiefs of Dhobei and Kujang, and for the first time established Aryan rule there. Kujang gradually became a powerful state and came into prominence during 1568-70. Madalapanji mentioned that one Bisar Mahanti of Kujang rescued the half-burnt image of Lord Jagannath from the holy place of Bhagirathi, collected the *Brahma Muni* and at last handed it over to the Raja of Kujang. The chief of Kujang then installed the idol of Lord Jagannath and named it Kujang Bihari. Kujang henceforward became famous as a holy place. In 1588, when Raja Ramachandra Dev was the king of Orissa, the *Brahma Muni* was sent in a great and pompous crermony from Kujang to Puri and the Navakalebar of the idol was reinstalled in Sri Mandir. In Kujang the tradition of Kujang Bihari worship persists till today. Moreover, the people of Kujang worshipped Goddess Ram Chandi (now situated near the False Point in a forest-clad area), who was the state-deity of the fishermen community of Ramito Garh. Tradition further has it that one Gopinath

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Narendra defeated the fishermen and occupied Ramito Garh. After his death his son Purusottam Narendra became king and ruled the state from 1645 A.D. to 1667 A.D. In time Kujang garh became weak whereas the Dhobei garh grew stronger with 2000 paiks under the leadership of a Kshatriya named Mallik Samanta of Talcher who had been appointed earlier a teacher in the royal family at Puri. Mallik Samanta was able to bring under rein an unruly bull who had been terrorising the people and, as per the previous agreement, got one-fourth of the kingdom and the title of Sendh. The Paiks revolted and dethroned Purusottam Narendra and installed Mallik Samanta on the throne. Thus Mallik Samanta founded the Sendh dynasty. He ruled with the help of his Paik force for 18 years from 1667 to 1685. The following is the geneological line of the royal family of Kujang as it has been handed down by tradition :

Mallik Sendh - 1667 to 1685
Sachi Sendh - 1685 to 1706
Damodar Sendh - 1706 to 1726
* Biswambhar Sendh - 1727 to 1751
Chaturbhuj Sendh - 1751 to 1770
** Krushna Chandra Sendh - 1770 to 1790
*** Gangadhar Sendh Narendra - 1790 to 1804
Chandradhwaja Sendh -1804 (for one year)
**** Birabhadra Sendh - 1804 to 1814
Jagabandhu Sendh - 1814 to 1818

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* He had two sons named Chaturbhuja Sendh and Krushna Chandra Sendh.

** He had 17 sons, the eldest being Gangadhar Sendh Narendra.

*** He had two sons, eldest being Chandradhwaj Sendh.

**** He had two sons namely Jagabandhu Sendh and Madhusudan Sendh.

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***** Madhusudan Sendh - 1818 to 1835
Janardan Sendh Samanta - 1835 to 1857
****** Ramahari Samanta - 1857 to 1858
Laxmidhar Sendh - 1858 (for 3 months)
Bidyadhar Harichandan (Sendh) - 1858 to 1875.

The following are a few important events which occurred in Kujang under the rule of this Sendha Dynasty. In 1715 Damodar Sendh defeated the chief of Pargana Bedhi and annexed it to his own kingdom. Biswambhar Sendh, a great diplomat king, built Paradip garh in an inaccessible place. He killed the ruler of Ramito at Paradip and received the title of Narendra in 1736. Palligarh was subsequently occupied by him. During his time Marathas under Bhaskar Pandit attacked Orissa and established a Fauzdari office with a small force at Kendrapara for the purpose of checking the depredations of the Raja of Kujang. It has been said that for centuries the chiefs of Kujang had been preying upon the surrounding territories. Chaturbhuja Sendh, during whose period such occurrences took place, established a fort called Bhitargarh from where he brought magazines to Anantapur, the sadar office of Kujang. The Marathas also attacked Kujang during the reign of Krushna Chandra Sendh.[7] But the latter imprisoned the British Officer, Captain Rogers, at Point Palmyras. He seized the ships Verlest and Pembroke which had arrived at Kujang. These notorious activities of the Rajas of Kujang were considered to be a danger to the safety of the British ships passing near the coast. Many ships were wrecked off the coast of Orissa and most of them were at Kujang and Kanika. The zamindars of those places, who appeared to be lawless and 'rapacious savages' plundered the vessels, ill-treated

***** He had two sons; Janardan Sendh and Ramahari Sendh.

****** He had two sons, namely, Laxmidhar Sendh and Bidyadhar Harichandan.

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and imprisoned the crew and the passengers. They cruelly murdered Captain Rogers together with many of his comrades.[8]

Gangadhar Sendh defeated and ultimately killed the chief of Kaladwipa with the help of the Raja of Kanika. The latter's territory, particularly the Chakra area situated on the southern side of the river Tantiyapal, was occupied by the Raja of Kujang. The chief granted jagirs to the sea-pirates of that occupied territory and employed them as his soldiers. Thus more than one hundred such pirates joined his army. As a result of the introduction of jagir system by the chief, 300 Paik soldiers were benefited. Ganngadhar Sendh also introduced many welfare works, like construction of dams for his kingdom. To keep the villages in good order he appointed a group of persons who were henceforth called Mati Parichha and gave them 3,000 acres of land as jagirs. Around the time he died, Orissa came to be occupied by the British.[9]

Even before the military occupation of Orissa in 1803, the East India Company were bent upon punishing the chiefs of Kujang who had mostly been indulged in plundering activities and acts of cruelty. The Maratha government at Nagpur was requested to curtail the authority of the chief of Kujang and to cede Kujang to the East India Company. The Raja of Nagpur considered seriously the allegation of the British against the Raja of Kujang and decided to punish him severely, if the charges like atrocities etc. were proved.[10] A strong detachment was stationed at Kendrapara which commanded the most material points towards the sea, in order to check the Raja of Kujang and some of the subordinate chiefs in that part of Orissa.[11] Still the Raja continued to plunder vessels wrecked on his coast and amassed vast wealth. He paid little attention to the orders of the Maratha Subedar in Orissa. It so happened that Madhaji Hari, Maratha Governor of Orissa, was removed from his office as he failed in taking steps against the Raja of Kujang who had indulged in plundering British ships. Thus, in the eyes of both the Marathas and the British he was a troublesome chief.[12]

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TWO

Long before the conquest of Orissa the British had settled here as traders. After the Battle of Plassey in 1757 the East India Company through diplomacy worked out a plan to occupy Orissa and to this end, developed a sea-coast policy. A new stage of diplomacy evolved after 1765. In 1774 when Warren Hastings became Governor-General in Council of India, adopted that policy with regard to Orissa. After him Lord Cornwallis became Governor-General in 1786. The chief centre of diplomacy shifted from Nagpur to Poona. But the object of gaining possession of Orissa through diplomatic means could not be achieved. Thus from Clive to Cornwallis the policy through diplomacy to occupy Orissa failed miserably.[1]

Lord Wellesley, the successor of Lord Cornwallis decided to use force to obtain Orissa. But, at first, he attempted to achieve his goal through negotiation. This, however, bore no result. So Wellesley was convinced that only a war would help him to secure the possession of Orissa and a military take over of Orissa was in the logic of events. The conquest of Orissa by the British in 1803 was a part of the Second Maratha War in which the rival ambitions of the British and the Marathas for supremacy in India were finally adjusted. On 31 December 1802 the Treaty of Bassien was signed between the British and the Peshwa and thus this treaty sealed the fate of India. On 27 June 1803 Lord Wellesley wrote to Arthur Wellesley that "from the Raja of Berar he wished to acquire the whole province of Cuttack so as to unite the Northern Circars by a continued line of sea-coast with Bengal. This cession including Balasore etc. was to be made either absolutely or on payment of a moderate rent or a security for a subsidiary force to be introduced in the dominions of the Raja of

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Berar." [2] He also instructed Arthur Wellesley that in the event of a war with the Raja he should not make peace with the latter unless Orissa was secured. To conquer Orissa seemed an easy task for him and in fact Orissa was conquered within thirty-seven days.

On 3 August 1803 Lord Wellesley declared war. This was the Second Maratha War. A trial of strength against the Maratha began. In order to defeat Bhonnsla, Lord Wellesley instructed Lord Lake to send a battalion from Banaras to seize the passes of Bundelkhand and compel the chief of that territory and the Raja of Berar to divide their forces. Wellesley also planned to send two detachments, one from Midnapur and the other from Ganjam to march simultaneously upon the province of Orissa and converge at Cuttack, as a result of which the Raja of Berar would leave Sindhia and would run to protect his own territory. Wellesely arranged to take sufficient precautions to safeguard the rear and left flanks from the attack of the Marathas and also considered it wise to keep the British possession of Midnapur free from the Maratha in-roads. In view of these considerations, Wellesley opened negotiations through the Magistrate of Midnapur with the chiefs of Jungle Mahals and the Tributary Mahals of Orissa.

Wellesley then looked towards Orissa proper. He, in his proclamation, declared that the forces should march immediately and the people of Orissa at the same time be informed that the purpose of the British conquest was to free them from the tyranny of the Marathas. He instructed Lieutenant Colonel Campbell to conciliate the Priests of the temple of Lord Jagannath and 'to treat with the independent tributary chiefs who might have it in their power to clog his operations by flattering their interests without requiring their absolute submission to the British authority.' [3] In order to win over Bungoji Pundit, Naib

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of Cuttack, Haribansa Rai, Dewan, Balaji Kunar, Commander-in-Chief, Moro Pundit, Faujdar of Balasore and the officers of inferior ranks, all necessary attempts were made to open negotiation with them and even to bribe them. Even the Maratha soldiers were seduced 'with a view of distressing the enemy and at the same time obtaining the services of a body of men who may be employed with advantage with the protection of the country against the marauders and for other purposes.[4] Lastly, Lord Wellesley made overtures to the Raja of Sareikella and to the Rani of Mayurbhanj. Thus the possibility of any Maratha attack from the north was checked by establishing relations with these rulers. For the progressive organisation of revenue Wellesley appointed in advance, John Melville, as the Civil Commissioner for the affairs of Cuttack.[5]

The British troops marched from four different directions under the commands of four officers. The main force under Lt. Colonel Campbell moved from Ganjam. The second force consisting of 500 Sepoys, 21 Gunners with four six pounders sailed from Calcutta under Captain Morgan for occupying Balasore. A third one was formed at Jaleswar under the command of Lt. Colonel Fergusson consisting of 835 Sepoys and 84 men from the Governor-General's Body Guard for the purpose of advancing southwards by the land route to join the detachment under Captain Morgan at Balasore. The fourth force consisting of 1400 Sepoys assembled at Midnapur under the command of Lt.Colonel Fenwick to protect the Bengal border and to prevent any possible Maratha incursion through Sareikella. Besides, Captain Blunt with the Bengal troops, was deputed to Ganjam.[6]

For their part, the Maratha authorities at Cuttack requested all the tibutary rajas to send them a whole year's revenue. But no response came. The Maratha chief at Balasore made some arrangements for defence by stationing more than 1,000

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matchlockmen, 100 horses and a number of paiks to guard the northern frontier of Orissa. Another detachment consisting of 3000 cavalry and infantry under the command of Balaji Kunar took its post on the north bank of river Mahanadi. A further detachment was also placed in the fort of Barabati. Another, under the command of Dharm Rai Pandit, was posted at Pipli in Puri. Three thousand Maratha troops were also reported to have left Cuttack to resist the British troops at Manikpatna. The relative military strength of the Marathas and the British was estimated by Captain Morgan thus :

> " The whole of the enemy's force in the province does not exceed 1, 500 horse and 1, 000 foot. Against it a well disciplined force of about 4, 100 Indians and Europeans backed by a strong artillery and fifty horses were employed."[7]

On 8 September 1803 Lt. Colonel Campbell started his march from Ganjam. As he fell ill, on 11 September Lt.Colonel George Harcourt of the King's 12th Regiment, the Military Secretary to the Governor-General, replaced him. On 13 September, he occupied Jitakul, on 16 September, Manikpatna and on 18 September, Puri, Maratha resistance to the forces of Harcourt at all these places was negligible. The British forces under Harcourt, then marched from Puri and occupied Ahmadpur on 24 September. Then as the troops marched towards Mukundpur, they were severely attacked by the Maratha troops. In spite of strong Maratha resistance, the British troops, however, reached the bank of river Kathjuri where they faced considerable difficulty in crossing the river as no boats or boatmen were available there. Somehow, by securing the assistance of native people they entered Cuttack on 8 October 1803. The Maratha troops had already taken shelter inside the fort of Barabati and the natives of the town fled to Tangi-Choudwar. The British forces under the

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command of Lt. Colonel Clayton began assaulting the fort in the night of 12 October 1803 and the fort fell on 14 October. Balaji Kunar, the commander of the fort of the Barabati and the principal military officer, alongwith 200 horses and 300 foot soldiers retreated towards Barmul Pass in Daspalla.[8]

On the northern front i.e. Balasore, Captain Morgan marched with his troops on 14 September 1803 and reached Nilgiri hills on 17 September. They reached Balasore town facing no opposition on their way. In the meanwhile, the British won Mono Pandit, the Maratha Fauzdar at Balasore over to their side. This helped Morgan a lot in achieving final victory. On 22 September 1803 the town of Balssore was occupied. But thereafter the British troops faced difficulties in their advance on account of heavy resistance of the Maratha armies. However, the Maratha soldiers, on hearing the quick success of Harcourt on the southern front, fled towards the fort of Barabati.[9]

Lt. Colonel Fergusson marched from Jaleswar to Balasore and then hearing of the fall of Barabati, made quick marches towards Cuttack. Thus the coordination of action of the forces under Harcourt, Morgan and Fergusson assured them the possession of the Maratha territories between Ganjam and Balasore. Afterwards, Colonel Fenwick occupied Pataspur, Kamarda, Sahbandar and Bhograi. In this way all the territories in the north-east of the river Subarnarekha were brought under British possession.[10]

By 15 October 1803, the Marathas having been attacked from four sides by the British, were panic-striken, and hence cleared themselves from the coastal plains of Orissa. They fled in the direction of Nagpur through Barmul Pass. But Barmul Pass had already been well-guarded by the friendly chiefs of the adjoining areas. After the retreat of Balaji Kunar from the fort of Barabati, Major Forbes heading a detachment chased him and his forces. On 2 November 1803, the

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Maratha troops were routed. The Barmul Pass was forced open by Major Forbes and the door through which Marathas entered Orissa was closed for good. With the defeat of Balaji at the Barmul Pass, the military campaign of the British in Orissa may be said to have to come to an end.[11] After this campaign arrangements for treaty engagements were made. The treaties were prepared after a long discussion and signed on 17 December 1803. Thus the Treaty of Deogan was concluded and with this the British occupation of Orissa received recognition from Raghuji Bhonnsle, the Raja of Berar, and by 1804 three districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore on the sea-coast and sixteen Tributary Mahals in the hill regions to the west constituted the Orissa Province of the East India Company.[12] While the former remained under the direct administration of the British Government, the latter were exempted from the British laws and regulations. Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt and John Melville were appointed as the Commissioners for the settlement of the Province of Cuttack.[13]

During the occupation of Orissa, the minor Raja of Khurda Mukunda Dev II in order to get back terrtitories such as the pargans of Lembai, Rahang, Serain and Chaubiskud and also his claims over the temple of Lord Jagannath carried on negotiations with the British. The British requested the Raja to allow their troops to pass through his territory and for military assistance to expel the Marathas.In return the Raja of Khurda was promised a sum of rupees one lakh and at the first instance rupees fifty thousand were paid. The Raja agreed only with a view to recovering the lost parganas and the temple of Jagannath. But after the conquest, the British did not show any sign of honouring their earlier commitment. The minor Raja made several attempts to get the British pay the balance through his vakeel and dewan, Jayakrushna Rajguru. Later on, it was understood that the British were planning to reduce him to the position of a vassal through a treaty-engagement like they had done in other estates of British Orissa.

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On the advice of Jayakrushna Rajguru, the minor Raja turned down the offer, and open hostilities then became inevitable.[14]

A triple alliance, offensive and defensive was formed among the Rajas of Khurda, Kanika and Kujang. Such hostile attitude of the Raja of Khurda compelled the British to take stern action. In November 1804 military operations were undertaken against the Raja. By a proclamation issued on 7 December 1804, the Raja of Khurda was deposed and his territoties were annexed to British Orissa. Raja Mukund Dev was finally captured on 3 January 1805. Balabhadra Bhanja, Raja of Kanika was taken as a prisoner and sent to Midnapur in July 1805. Chandradhwaj Sendh, Raja of Kujang; was dethroned and his elder brother Madhusudan Sendh was recognised as the new Raja. [15]

The Commissioners for the affairs of Cuttack concluded the settlement of land revenue with some zamindars at a fixed Jumma in perpetuity. These settlements were confirmed by the Regulation 12 of 1805. The said regulation at the same time declared that no alteration would be made at any time in the amount of revenue payable to the Goverment by these zamindars. Kujang was among the zamidaries thus settled . It was not one of the tributary mahals but its Raja held his estate on a fixed annual quit-rent in perpetuity [16] and remained a tributary state subject to the operation of the regulatins of the British. John Richardson, Settlement Commissioner, also observed that besides the tributary mahals, out of the thirteen estates in which the land revenue was fixed in perpetuity, Kujang was one.[18]

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THREE

At the time of British occupation of Orissa, Gangadhar Sendh, the ruling chief of Kujang, executed an iqramama for the payment of Peshkash of 14,011 Kahans of Kauris.[1] As he died shortly afterwards, his eldest son, Candhradhwaj Sendh became ruler of Kujang, imprisoning Birabhadra Sendh, another claimant to the throne. The former was declared a rebel as he tried to instigate the Rajas of Kanika and Khurda to join him in conspiracy against the British. But the attempt being detected, Colonel Harcourt marched against him with a detachement. Chandradhwaj Sendh was dispossessed and imprisoned.[2] Birabhadra Sendh was invited to ascend the throne and asked to sign the iqramama with the British.[3] He assumed the title of Narendra Bahadur and paid a revenue of Rs. 4938-7-10 to the British. He continued to rule till about 28 September 1804. Birabhadra was informed by the Commissioner for the Affairs in Cuttack that Col. Knox, the Surveyor, was proceeding to Kujang for survey. But the people of Kujang protested against the survey of the estate on the ground that it was the residence of the family members of the Raja. So Knox was asked to instruct his men not to proceed. Birabhadra Sendh, unfortunately, was murdered by his dewan, Sadasiv Jena, who had made plans to usurp the throne. However, he failed to gain the throne.[4]

Chandradhwaj Sendh, brother of the deceased Raja succeeded to the throne and was recognised as the Raja of Kujang sometimes in November-December 1804. He was probably the youngest brother of Birabhadra and he, in complicity with the dewan, had placed his elder brother Madhusudan Sendh in confinement and thus had usurped the throne. Colonel Harcourt, Commissiner for the Affairs in Cuttack,

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was unaware of this fact. Rather, he delayed the matter deliberately as he had wished to see for himself the actual situtation there and arranged for the suppression of piracy in the sea in that part. He proceeded to Kujang. On his arrival, the Raja wanted to have an interview with him, but he was put off as Colonel Harcourt wanted to examine first the nature of defence and ascertain the other resources of the Raja before meeting him and granting recognition to his succession. Harcourt examined the defences and procured all information relating to the estate. Then he decided that three more clauses should be added to the original agreement and accordingly conveyed the terms to the Dewan-Bebarta of the Raja who accepted them. Harcourt, then crossed the Mahanadi. The agreement was to be executed next day. But suddenly information reached him that the Raja had taken to flight. This unexpected conduct on the part of the Raja was as surprising to Harcourt as it was to the officers of the Raja.[5]

The rising in Khurda in 1804 aroused suspicion in the mind of Colonel Harcourt about some secret understanding between the Rajas of Kujang and Kanika. The rulers of these estates probably indulged in some hostile acts that gave substance to the suspicion. In response to the call of the Raja of Khurda to unite in common cause with him against the British, the Rajas of Kujang and Kanika readily joined the movement. The Raja of Kujang was not as hostile to the British as the Raja of Kanika.But he looked upon the Raja of Khurda as his immediate superior. This made him lend his support to the Raja of Kanika.So, after the suppression of the rising in Khurda, Colonel Harcourt decided to take positive action against Kujang and Kanika. Chandradhwaja Sendh was apprehensive of the intention of Harcourt and so took to flight. After deputing Major Forbes to Barmul to intercept the retreating Marathas, Harcourt himself macrched against the Raja of Kujang. The elder brother of Chdandradhwaja

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Sendh who had been confined in the fort of Paradip was released and set upon the throne. The fort was dismantled and its cannons were taken to Cuttack. Later, Chandradhwaja Sendh was apprehended and kept in confinement in the fort of Barabati.[6] Heavy rewards were given to those instrumental in the capture of Chandradhwaja Sendh.

Madhusudan Sendh, who was recognised as the rightful succssor and Raja of Kujang, was provided with some respectable persons to assist him in the administration. The following four extra clauses were now added to the original agreement. [7]

> "a) Arrangements made in the Mughalbandi area for the manufacture of salt should extend to the Kujang estate.
> b) The Raja should account to the British Governement for all property saved from wrecks of any vessels on the coast within his territory.
> c) Raja should carry out all orders he would receive from the British Government.
> d) The family of the previous Raja should be taken care of and provided with suitable maintenance."

As a temporary measure the estate of Kujang was handed over to the charge of Charles Groeme, Collector of Jagannath. Groeme ordered that troops might be withdrawn from Kujang and the jewelleries would be returned to the Raja.[8] The Chief Commissioner of Cuttack also desired that the troops should not be entertained any longer than the required time for the maintenance of his power and authority, and the tranquillity of Kujang. This responsibility, however, was connected with the fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty of the Raja of Kujang with the British governement. The responsibility of the regular payment of Peshksh rested principally with Sadasiv Jena, the dewan of the Raja. The Chief Commissiner was also desirous that he should be consulted by Sadasiv Jena relating to the irregular Peons working under the command of Jagujee. Accordingly, Groeme

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was instructed to make communication with Sadasiv Jena on this subject and to act as he recommended. Further, in the event of Sadasiv Jena agreeing to the dismissal of the irregualr Peons, Groeme should acquaint the Raja of Kujang accordingly. Upon the irregulars being paid up and disbanded Groeme would deliver to the Raja remaining Jewels etc. in his possession . He would, however, at the same time advise the Raja that the jewels etc., could not be given up till he was satisfied that all the just demands of the irregulars had been met. The Chief Commissioner further ordered that should he deem it advisable, the jewels etc. should be disposed of for the purpose of satisfying the just demands of any of the irregulars in the event of the Raja refusing to do so. The regular troops would be withdrawn from Kujang immediately. [9]

The Raja of Kujang collected revenue, and did not care for the Tahsildar appointed by the East India Company. He asserted his authority and confined two zamindars and four gomastas. On the other hand, the Collector of Cuttack, considering the amount of Peshkash of the Raja of Kujang, which was Sicca Rs. 7034/- per annum, recommended that an adequate allowance, Rs. 1150/- per month might be granted to Chandradhwaj Sendh for his maintenance.[10] Finally, however, an allowance of Rs.100/- per month was granted to Raja Chandradhwaja Sendh for his maintenance with the condition that in the event of his being restored to the Zamindari of Kujang the sum paid in advance should be recovered from him as had been done to Madhusudan Sendh,his brother, who had been confirmed in the possession of Kujang. [11] In the meanwhile, the two brothers had filed suits in the Court of Diwani Adalat relating to their respective claims. By the orders of the Government of Bengal, the current possession was confirmed to Raja Madhusudan Sendh, and as Raja Chadradhwaja Sendh had not preferred his claims before the Diwani Adalat, his case was not considered and he was not paid

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any further allowance. The payment was suspended for the present only. Upon the request of the Collector of Cuttack for further instructions from the Board of Revenue of discontinuing it altogether and to recover the sums paid on this account from Raja Madhusudan Sendh, [12] the Governor-General in Council desired the Collector of Cuttack to call upon the Raja of Kujang to repay the amount advanced by the government for the support of his brother Chandradhwaja Sendh.Likewise the Governor-General in Council considered it desirable that an amicable arrangement should be made, if practicable, through the Agency of the Collector for the future support of the latter. But this must be referred to the Courts of Jurisdiction for the establishment of his claim to a provision from the estate held by his brother. The Governnor-General in Council did not deem it advisable to authorise any further adavacnes to him from the public treasury. [13]

Regarding the jewels and other property of the Raja of Kujang as deposited in the Cuttack Treasury the case history was that on 10 March 1807 the Collector of Cuttack forwarded a statement of the property to the Board of Revenue.* On 31 March 1807 the Sub-Secretary to the Board of Revenue transmitted the orders of the government directing a further enquiry through the Magistrate to decide upon the claims to the property in question.On 20 August 1807 the Collector of Cuttack requested the Governement of Bengal to direct him what to do. The latter directed that no alteration should take place respecting the possession of the zamindary. At that time the Collector of Cuttack presumed that it was the intention of the government to put the present Raja in possession of the jewels under his charge as well as the zamindary. [14]

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* See Appendices I and II

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On enquiry it was known from Madhusudan Sendh that he had made a petition to the Right Hon'ble Lord Minto, Governor--General in Council in which he stated that at the time when Chadradhwaja Sendh fled into the jungles with some gold and silver jewels, jewels with pearls, precious stones and some silver plates as his property, he resolved and intended to fight with the British. In order to prevent him, Captain Law was deputed to Kujang to stay there for some months. When Gangoojee, the Jamadar, captured Chadradhwaj Sendh and brought him from the jungle, Captain Law, by the order of the Commissioner of Cuttack delivered the above mentioned jewels taken form him into the hands of Charles Groeme, the then Collector of Jagannath, with direction to lock them up in the Public Treasury Chest. But Charles Groeme sold some of the said jewels, paid Rs. 1000/- as a present to Gangoojee, the Jamadar; and received Rs. 1000/- for himself from Madhusudan Sendh for the trouble he took in capturing Chadradhwaj Sendh, as it was promised when he was appointed for the above purpose. About Rs. 5000/- were collected from the merchants and paid to Charles Groeme. Besides, a sum of Rs. 50/- was paid from the above source to the Barkandazes under his command, towards their salary. [15]

Madhusudan Sendh made several petitions to the Collector and Magistrate of Cuttack and to the Borad of Revenue, Calcutta for obtaining their sanction to recover the above mentioned jewels. But the government did not listen to him. On the other hand, they desired that Madhusudan Sendh should represent his grievances seeking order that the Collector of Jagannath should deliver the jewels to him so that he would be able to refund the sum which he had borrowed from the merchants. In another petition to the Government of Bengal Madhusudan Sendh stated that sometime in Arpril last, some gold and silver jewels being seized at the office of the Collector of Cuttack, he was compelled to live in the penurious condition. On 21 October 1808, the Secretary to the Govememnt of Bengal observed :

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"The ground on which Government before declined passing any order respecting the jewels claimed by Madhusudhan was that the Koojung had been claimed by Chadradhwaj. It appearing to be proper, from the enquiries which have been made on the subject that the present Rajah should be supported in possession of the Zamindary until Chadradhwaj or any other person shall have established a superior title in the regular course of law, it remains to be ascertained whether the jewels in question are the actual property, others by right of inheritance and otherwise of the present report,or whether Chandradhwaj has any substantial claim to them."[16]

The Governor-General in Council desired that the Comissioner in Cuttack would direct the Collector of Cuttack to make the fullest enquiries respecting the right of property in the jewels. The Commissioner was also directed to report the result along with his sentiments on the subject for further orders of Govemement. Accordingly, F.Fauquir, Collector of Cuttack, was directed to make further enquiry into the right of property held under his charge but claimed by Raja Madhusudań Sendh and his brother Chandradhwaj Sendh. George Webb, Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack,was also requested to send those persons to the cutchery of the Collector under proper custody on 15 February 1809 at 9. a.m. for the purpose of answering such questions as might be put to him.[17]

Fauquir submitted a report to the Commissioner in Cuttack on the claims to jewels under his charge preferred by the two brothers respectively. After investigating these claims he thought it necessary to require the witnesses to take an oath before the Magistrate as to the truth of their depositors. He explained that the delay in completing this investigation occurred due to the trial of Chandradhwaj Sendh before the Court of Circuit for having

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violently ejected his brother from the Rajaship of Kujang. And afterwards, a long investigation was made before the Magistrate relating to a charge of murder preferred against Madhusudan Sendh. Pending the trial the parties could not be prevailed upon to produce their witness in support of their respective claims to the jewels. Fauquir further reported that although these jewels had been heretofore considered as the property of the Raja and as such to be delivered in to the hands of the reigning Raja Madhusudhan Sendh, he was of the opinion that the evidence herewith transmitted, established the right of Chandradhwaj Sendh to the jewels as his private property. Hence it would be seen that the evidence adduced by Madhusudan Sendh amounted to this quarrel and unsupported assertion that the jewels were the property of the Raja of Kujang for the time being.One or two of the witnesses declared that the jewels were exclusively worn by successive Rajas. The Collector of Cuttack was also of the opinion that this declaration was clearly false as it would be seen by the Inventory (Book of Letters sent on 10 March 1807) of jewels herewith transmitted that the greater part of the jewels consisted of females' and children's ornaments and this part of the evidence was fully refuted by the witnesses produced by Chandradhwaj Sendh. Of them Puddeeram Naik, a confidential servant of the family, was present when the jewels, one and all, were given to Chandradhwaj by his mother at the time of her Suttee or immolation and by his father Gangadhar Sendh, formerly Raja of Kujang, respectively. [18]

Fauquir's investigation further revealed that there was, moreover, a manifest contradiction between the witnesses of Raja Madhusudhan Sendh. For instance, Sridhar Joojhar Singh declared that some of the jewels were worn by former Rajas and the rest were produced or caused to be made by Chandradhwaj himself. Another witness Joogal Charan Patnaik asserted that all the jewels were worn

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by successive Rajas and by them only . A third witness, Nath Mahapatra, acknowledged that a part of the jewels were Ranee's ornaments.On the other hand, the evidence in support of Chadradhwaj's claim was clear and circumstantial .It consisted of the depositions of the family members and domestic servants, and hence left no doubt in his mind regarding the right to the jewels claimed by Chadradhwaj Sendh. But finally, Fauquir awaited the order for the final disposal of the jewels by the Government.[19]

As disputes between tht two brothers could not be settled tension continued to affect their relationship. In December 1813 Chandradhwaj Sendh sent a petition to William Trower, Collector of Cuttack.On the basis of the petition and after investigation, Trower reported to his higher authorities, especially to John Richardson, Settlement Commissioner, that for a certain time in the past a sum of Rs. 100/- had been paid to the petitioner from the Cuttack Treasury, but it had been subsequently stopped. Trower himself also desired to bring some amicable arrangement between the two brothers. It was therein expressly stated that in the event of the Raja of Kujang being confirmed in the Rajgee,it became his duty to make some provision for the living of his brother. Accordingly, parwanas were issued to the Raja who in his reply was willing to provide an amount to the extent of Rs. 50/- per month. Afterwards, the Circuit Judge directed that the said sum would be paid by the Raja of Kujang. The Collector of Cuttack opined that when the Raja of Kujang was enjoying all the revenues of the estate and on the other, Chadradhwaj Sendh was in a state of destitution, a sum of Rs. 100/- even would be a very small amount, if provided by Madhusudhan Sendh for support of Chandradhwaj Sendh. As per the 10th Article of the treaty engagement made with the Raja by the East India Company, the above provision was agreed upon .[20] Moreover, the Raja of Kujang was at all times in a state of intoxication, incapable of attending to business

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or managing his own affairs which were entirely in the hands of his dependants from whom nothing could be expected unless they were positively directed to pay monthly a stipulated amount to Chadradhwaj Sendh.Besides, the Collector of Cuttack, on a reference to the terms of the 10th Article of the treaty agreed on between the Commissioner for the affairs of Cuttack and the Raja of Kujang, observed that the latter was bound to provide for his brother Chadradhwaj in a suitable and proper manner. [21]

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FOUR

A serious problem arose over the issue of proprietory right of the Raja of Kujang on Pandua. The extensive mahal of Pandua consisted of 94 villages with a ruqba of 19402 acres. C.Groeme, Collector of Jagannath, on 6 May 1805 reported to the Commissioner for the Affairs in Cuttack that he was not yet acquainted with the nature of the tenure of the Raja of Kujang. Therefore, he requested the Board of Revenue at Calcutta to favour him with instructions as to whether the lease of the Raja of Kujang should not be a mukarreer one or he should reach a settlement with the Raja for 60,000 kahans of kauris, which, as the tahsildar informed him, was the actual jaidad of Pandua; or, 8,000, the jumma of 1210 Amli (1803 A.D.).[1] The Collector of Jagannath further begged to inform the Commissioner that he had understood from the raiyats of Pandua that they had decided to abscond from the Mahal if the settlement was concluded with the Raja of Kujang. It was learnt that the Maratha Government had interfered in an earlier dispute relating to Kujang and Pandua and had taken possession of it, but the Raja of Kujang had been allowed to farm it. On the settlement of 1212 Amli(1805) being over, the Raja claimed it as a quit rent, but his claim was not substantiated. On the contrary, it was proved that his jumma varied continually. [2] Then Madhusudan Sendh, Raja of Kujang, made a petition in which he mentioned that Pargana Pandua etc. were formerly rented by the Rajas of Kujang. The Commissioner of Cuttack passed the necessary orders after consideration of his claim. G.W. Webb, Collector of Cuttack, accordingly, had to make settlement of that Pargana and, of course, as it had been referred to the Court of Justice, he tendered Pandua at an equitable jumma and rented the estate of Kujang to the best advantage.[3] But the claims of the Raja of Kujang over Pandua due at

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a mukereer jumma could not be sufficiently substantiated. Hence the situation warranted that the Commissioner of Cuttack should be authorised to conclude engagements with the Raja on those terms. The Commissioner was, however, of the opinion that it was most equitable towards the Raja as well as to the government. They felt the present claims of the Raja should be decided by regular judicial process. The government accordingly directed the Collector of Jagannath to inform the Raja that he should prove his right to the possession of Pandua etc. at a regualr Court of Justice, which would forthwith be establihsed in Cuttack. The Chief Commissioner had considered it to be his duty to retain the said Pargana in the hands of the government and the Collector of Cuttack would accordingly proceed to make the requisite arrangements for the settlement there in conformity to the general instructions with which the Collector had already been furnished and which might be applicable to the case. [4]

In a letter to Charles Buller, Commissioner of Cuttack, F. Fauquir, Collector of Cuttack, mentioned that the mouza of Pandua and other landed property of the British Governement were let in farm in 1807. The Raja of Kujang presented a petition requesting to engage with him the estate at the jumma of 1807 and produced sale deeds in proof of his having long held possession of it upon a lease from the Maratha Government. The Commissioner of Cuttack, however, rejected this person's claim to hold the estate under a zamindary tenure at the reduced jumma of his former lease. At the same time he directed the Collector of Cuttack to conclude the settlement with the Raja provided he was then willing to engage for it at the jumma assessed by the Collector. The Raja declined this offer and so, the estate remained as the property of the British Government. It was not clear whether the revival of the claim on the part of the Raja under the condition formerly proposed to him, should be listened to. Fauquir, therefore, sought instructions from the Commissioner of

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Cuttack as to whether he should accede to or reject the petition of the Raja. In the latter case he proposed that the proprietory right of the estate be sold at his office without delay. [5]

Previous to passing any final orders respecting the Pargana of Pandua it appeared necessary to the Government that further enquiries should be made regarding the circumstnces particularly as to the footing on which, whether in the capacity of Zamindar or Famer, the Raja of Kujang held the Pargana at the period of the conquest of Orissa by the British forces. It was likewise desirable to ascertain whether any other person had claims to the Pargana and if so, the ground of those claims. On the basis of the letter of the Collector of Cuttack respecting the settlement of Pargana Pandua and the proceedings of the Board of Revenue in that respect G.Warde felt himself at a loss to offer an opinion upon the merits of the claim of the Raja of Kujang to have the settlement made with him as proprietor. Both the former and the present Collectors of Cuttack in speaking of the possession held by the Raja under the Maratha Government stated it to have been a farm. The former Collector of Cuttack had stated that the mahal formerly belonged to the Raja of Teeran who was dispossessed of it by the Raja of Kujang. Then the Maratha Government intervened and took possession of it, but afterwards, allowed the Raja of Kujang to farm the Mahal. At the time of the settlement of 1212 Amli (1805) the Raja of Kujang appeared to have laid claim to the mahal at a mukereer jumma. This claim, however, was rejected and the mahal was left in farm in 1213 Amli(1806). On consideration of the orders of the former Commissioner of Cuttack it would appear that the claim of the Raja was not rejected on the grounds of his having no right to have the settleement made with him as proprietor, but on the ground of his claim to hold the lands at a mukereer jumma not having been established.It would appear to have been considered by the former Collector to acknowledge the right of

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the Raja to make settlement with him provided the latter chose to engage at the jumma assessed by him. Accordingly, the Collector offered the mahal to the Raja at that jumma. But the Raja declined to engage on the terms proposed. This should not in his opinion prove any bar to the Raja's present engagement for the lands as proprietor at a fair and equitable jumma, provided his right as proprietors was to be considered as having been ackowledged by the former Commissioner. On consideration of the papers the Government was inclined to think that the right was admitted and accordingly, the settlement should be made with the Raja.[6]

The Commissioner of Cuttack was on the opinion that it would be desirable that the settlement of the mahal for the current year 1808 should be provided for as soon as practicable. He, therefore, relied upon the Collector's furnishing the information as early as possible. The Commissioner further directed that he had received an offer from the vakeel of Harachand Roy agreeing to take the mahal for the current year at a jumma of Rs. 11,000/-. In the event, therefore, of the Raja's claim to engage as proprietor being admitted, it appeared to the Commissioner that the jumma to be fixed for the current year should not be less than the jumma presently offered by Harachand Roy. On the other hand, should it appear that the Raja of Kujang had not the just claim to the propritory right on the land, it occurred to the Commissioner that it would be advisable to accept the offer of Harachand Roy for the current year, unless the jumma then tendered should appear to him to be much below the amount at which other individuals would take the lands for the current year. The Commissioner accordingly expressed his views on the proposed arrangement.[7]

F. Fauquir, in a subsequent letter to the Commissioner of Cuttack stated that the Raja of Kujang was the only claimant to the proprietory right in the mouza Pandua. He further stated that at the

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time of the conquest of this estate, the brother of the present claimant was the Raja of Kujang who held hereditary possession of "Mouza Pandua etc." which had descended to him from his father with whom the engagements for the revenue appeared to have been first contracted by the Maratha Goverment. The present Raja, therefore, must be considered to have claimed a hereditary proprietory right in the land. The Raja originally had claimed the right to hold this mahal at a mukereer jumma. On investigation the former Commissioner rejected this part of the claim, but instructed the Collector to acknowledge the Raja as proprietor by forming the settlement of the estate with him on his acceptance of the terms offered . Fauquir again stated that he was not in possession of the proceedings held by the Commissioner during the investigation alluded to, nor of the facts upon which their rejection of the claim of the Raja might have been grounded. He was, therefore, only guided by the result . The Raja of Kujang having relinquished the claim to hold the land upon the terms of his father's lease, was of the opinion that his proprietory right might be acknlowledged, and that Section 6 of Regulation 12 of 1805 was applicable in his case.[8]

The Collector of Cuttack further informed the Commissioner of Cuttack that Harachand Roy had tendered his offer for farming the mahal at this office and he had received two other offers, the higher of which amounted to Rs. 11,500/- upon the same security as that of Harachand Roy. In the event, therefore,of the Raja's claims being admitted and of his being still of the opinion that the jumma to be assessed upon the estate for the current year, 1808, should not be less than the amount of the offers then made for farming it. The Collector also sought instruction for assuming the farmer's office as the criterion of the value of the estate and for assessing it accordingly at Rs.11,500/- Or, in the event of Raja's declining to engage, he would avail himself of the order of the Commissioner for farming it to the highest bidder.

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The Governer-Genral in Council did not see any ground for admitting the claims of the Raja of Kujang to the proprietory right of the Pargana of Pandua. His Lordship in Council, in consequence, approved of the propositon of the Commissioner of Cuttack for letting the lands to farm in the current year i.e. 1808, to Harachand Roy at the stated amount of Rs. 11,500.[10]

In 1822 Pandua was purchased by the proprietor, Babu Dwarakanath Tagore for Rs. 20,000/-. At that time the suddar jumma of the mahal was Rs. 12.800/- which had been increased in 1814 to Rs. 13,120/- at which it presently stood.* Some parts of the estate adjoined the sea coast and the salt manufacturing work was carried out in four villages. One village was managed by a maquddum. Nearly every village had, however, formerly its maquddum or sarbarakar. But the zamindar managed to get rid of the greater number of them, and the right of a few who retained possession of villages were set aside by the Board of Revenue on 14 March 1844 on the grounds of the mustajire pottah not having been executed by them, and thus summarily rejected their claims. The lands in the estate were said to be of different types and those in 49 villages were to be liable to inundaton. [11]

The pottah taliqua of the zamindar gave a moffussil demand of Rs. 21359-3-8. The assessment of the Deputy Collector excluding the culturable waste resumed lakhiraj and service lands amounted to Rs. 20735-3-9 and with the excluded items which were not in the pottah taliqua of the zamindar amounted to 22869. [12] The ten years' papers exhibited an average demand of Rs. 22348-9-3. Tried by the above returns and in these the khoodkast lands were rather

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* The current sudder jumma was Rs. 13065-3-0

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undervalued. The assessment of the Deputy Collector hence could not be considered excessive. It appeared to be equitable and fair. Trevor, howerver, thought that the demand as shown in the papers of the zamindar against the resident (thanee) raiyats was quoted at too high a figure. The zamindar alleged that it contained in every rupees, one anna three paise of russom on account of peadah expenses. Trevor proposed to reduce the rate to three rupees per beegha.The thanee raiyats had taken pottah for Rs. 3344-1-10 paying a jumma of Rs. 10507-5-6 at the rate of Rs. 3-2-5 per acre so that only Rs. 48-14-5 of the jumma of Rs. 149-6-10 at the rate of Rs. 3-1-4 was engaged as he did not see any sufficient reason for reducing the assessment further than to make the rate of the unengaged land on a parity with that of the pahee lands.[12]

The zamindar urged objectons against every item of the assessment without any foundation. The allegation regarding the destruction of 240 beeghas of land by a deposit of salt was most suspicious. If infrequented by saline water, it would gradually reoccur and this was counter balanced by the remission of Rs. 589-18-13 assessed at a jumma of Rs. 361-6-0. The Deputy Collector had taken the entire salt payment of 1843 as the rent of the land in possession of the Salt Department. But this was not the correct procedure, as it was ruled by the Governement Order of 15 August 1837 that one third of the salt payment should be taken as the land revenue. This amount was, therefore, excluded from the assests and the Collector would desire the Salt Agent to remit to him annually one third of the salt payment which might be made to the zamindars and would credit the amount under a separate heading of land revenue and this modified the Sudder Jumma to Rs. 13065-3-0, at which, within one third of the annual salt payment, the settlement was confirmed for the period from 1844 to 1867. [13]

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On 29 March 1817 disturbances in the territory of Khurda commenced. The insurrection then spread like wild fire. The insurgents made Khurda their headquarters and marched from that place in different directions in various groups. One group moved towards Gope, Pattamundai and Kujang. The British Governement soon undertook several measures to check the rising. In consideration of the grave situation, Martial Law was introduced at once and in course of time the capture and imprisonment of the Raja of Khurda broke down the spirit of the insurgents to a considerable extent. Nvertheless, the insurrection in Khurda and elsewhere could not be suppressed all at once, though of course it was checked in most parts of Khurda and its surrounding areas.[1]

Buxi Jagabandhu and Krushna Chandra Bhramarbar Rai the two chief leaders, were regularly in correspondence with the Khandaits and Paiks of Kujang etc, especially with Madhusudan Mangaraj, a Khandait of killa Harishpur in Kujang. Gradually the people of the areas joined the Khurda movement. A body of paiks belonging to the Raja of Kujang rushed into the Kacheri of one Ram Prasad who was in charge of trasporting salt from Kujang to the Salt Chowki. The insurgents plundered the salt and seized all the amlas and carried them to Paradip. Eight barkandazes who came to the assistance of the amlas were also seized and carried away. The salt business of that part of the territory was virtually stopped. Encouragement of some hill chiefs and the active part played by the paiks of the Raja of Kujang made the situation grave and serious. Whether the Raja of Kujang had encourged his paiks appeared doubtful. Anyway, a confederacy was formed among the original landholders of the territory

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of Kujang against the British Governement. Further, the rainy season became favourable to their rebellious operation.The Government troops could not enter into those areas due to heavey rain and consequent flood in the rivers. Under the leadership of Narayan Parama guru and Bamdeb Patjoshi the violent isurgents drove away the police troops from Kujang. They even erected blockades on the paths of the British troops and threatened those who would betray them, with dire consequences. Ultimately, they prevailed upon the Raja of Kujang to take active part in the insurrection.

In the insurrection the disposessed zamindars, khandayats and raiyats took active part. The insurgents attacked the thanas of Kujang and Pattamundai. Four barkandazes were seriously wounded. The inhabitants of Kujang were collecting both revenue and provisions from the neighbouring areas. The rebels also attacked the zamindars of Jhankar and his 200 Paiks. The police officers of Kujang itself were in danger as they were threatened of being driven away by the rebels. The Raja of Kujang was suspected of having complicity with the insurgents, as he did not reach Cuttack when asked by the British Government to prove his innocence. Though it might be difficult to prove the guilt of the Raja, still his conduct confirmed the suspicion. It was opened by the Magistrate of Cuttack that the Raja was unworthy of retaining the management of his estate and hence the magistrate suggested for his arrest immediately and declaring the Raja's estate forfeited to the British. The disturbances in Kujang were so widespread and popular that it turned out to be a "mass insurrection", and this became effective mainly due to the efforts of Narayan Paramaguru and Bamdeb Patjoshi who were working under the advice and inspiration of Buxi Jagabandhu with whom they had been keeping up secret correspondence.[2]

It was in fact difficult to suppress the revolt in Kujang and Pattamundai, although detachments had already been ordered to go

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to those troubled spots with a view that their presence might probably prevent further excesses. The British authorities could not take immediate steps to suppress the rising in Kujang due to rainy season. The local police, therefore, with much difficulties captured some followers of the insurgent leader Madhusudan Mangaraj. An informer named Banamali Narendra was promised a reward of Rs. 1,000/- for aiding the British in capturing Madhusudan Mangaraj. The situation worsened, on the other hand, when the troops of Captain Willington retreated from Puri, as this brought a spirit of courage and excitement among the insurgents to create commotion in Kujang and its vicinity. The Paiks of Kujang appeared to have taken principal part in these disturbances . Hence, further serious meaures were thought of by the British. [3]

Consequent upon the insurrection in Kujang, G. Martindell, the Military Commissioner, desired to despatch troops there.[4] It was felt that the military force could be of use only if instructions of the Magistrate were carried out. The Commissioner also realised that the despatch of troops to Kujang was essentially necessary in view of the disturbed conditions there. But the officer in-charge should obey the instructions received from the Magistrate as he had applied for military aid. The military commander did not arrest the individuals in Gop as desired by the Magistrate of Cuttack and released two persons who had delivered themselves up without consultation with or even knowledge of him. Captain Kennett in command at Gop was instructed to receive all petitions and forward them to the Magistrate. But under orders from Major General Martindell he had been sending them to him. Martindell himself received petition of the Khandayat of Golra and released him although he was a proscribed rebel. Captain Charles Robert Kennett was sent to suppress the rising in Kujang. Captain A.Mcleod was also ordered to march with a detachment to Pattamundai to control the situation.

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Captain Kennett suceeded in controlling the situation in Gop, Golra etc. by the end of june 1817. The Police Daroga at Kujang was asked to increase the strength of Barkandazes. Some matchlockmen and horsemen were posted there. On the other hand, the rising in Kujang, Pattamundai and Jhunkar took a violent turn and spread to Chndaballi in Balasore. As the situation became serious, Major General Martindell was requested to send troops immediately to the troubled spots in Kujang. The Magistrate of Cuttack increased the strength of thana from 10 to 40 barkandazes and armed the additional 30 recruits with matchlocks; 15 horsemen were posted and were asked to stay there till the disturbances were over. Troops were also sent from Khurda to Kujang via Cuttack and Jhunkar. At last Martial Law was proclaimed in Kujang, Gop, Golra, Tiran and Harishpur as civil power broke down there.

From the beginning of the rising in Kujang the British Government had suspected the sercret support of many influential persons like the Rajas of Kujang and Kanika for the insurrection. The Raja of Kujang was warned time and agian and was ordered to capture the rebels. As the raja was virtually in the hands of the insurgetns, he expressed his helplessness to comply with the governement order. He was charged with disobedience of orders.In accordance with the recommendation of Edward Impey, Government of Bengal decided that the Raja was unworthy of retaining the management of his estate and further he was to be arrested and brought to Cuttack.

Such a decision created a panic in the mind of the Raja who, however, thought of delivering himself up to the police. Although no fresh outrage occurred, still, the situation was far from normal. The prevailing calmness of situation was due to temporary inactivity of the Paiks. No material change took place so that the Magistrate of Cuttack would recommend the abandonment of military action in

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Kujang . Because the situation could relapse into old state any moment. On the approach of large number of troops, Narayan Paramguru and Bamdeb Patjoshi took shelter in the jungle. The Magistrate proposed that troops might move into Kujang. In case the officer found things continuing to be quiet, they might choose some good spot and remain there . The presence of the troops, would,of course, inspire awe in the insurgents. Should his suggestion be not found acceptable the proclamation of Martial Law in Kujang might be deferred till the end of the rains. If the situation so required, Martial Law would be proclaimed, and he would furnish, if desired, the list of persons to be apprehended and other information . There was yet unfavourable situation in Kujang.[6] The military commander stated that he had taken up the responsibility, though unauthorised by existing regulation, in the hope that government would approve of it. He requested that he might be empowered to extend similar indulgence to such persons who were implicated in the act of rebellion as it might appear expedient. In consequence of the continuance of disturbances in Kujang and its vicinity, he had appointed 25 more barkandzes. When the troops would embark for Kujang, he would recall these barkandzes and would make further reduction in the police establishment as soon as circumstances would permit.[7] Edward Impey, Magistrate of Cuttack, increased the numbers of barkandzes in Kujang and also suggested granting pardon to the insurgents in order to restore peace in the area. In spite of the measures adoped, situation did not improve. Captain Kennatt marched towards Paradip and reached there on 14 September 1817 with a small force. Paradip garh was strongly stockaded and defended by the insurgents. Kennett, after a few exchanges of fire, took Paradip by storm. Then Lt. Forrester with his party of soldiers pursued the insurgents, killed fifteen of them and seized their guns. The rebels in that area were completely routed within six days only. Kennett himself aslo drove away the insurgents from Nuagarh and marched towards Tiran where on 19 September 1817

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he encountered the resistance of more than 2,000 insurgents who of couse, were finally dispersed.[8]

Pardon was granted to all the khandayats who had delivered themeselves up to the British authorities. It was hoped that with the proclamation of grant of pardon by the Governement the insurgent-khandayats would be able to re-establish the old proprietors in their estates. The Commissioner of Cuttack recollected the history of Kujang that Chadradhwaj Sendh absconded when Col. Harcourt visited Kujang. So he was deposed and the present Raja was given recognition on his signing the required agreement . Chandradhwaj with the help of Bamdeb Patjoshi and Narayan Paramaguru seized the Raja and kept him in confinement . But the Raja was released and reinstated, and the three offenders were sentenced to three years imprisonment. They were released from jail soon afterwards. Since their release the present Raja was in dread of them. In view of the above facts the motives of Chandradhwaj were not free from suspicion. So when he met him and offered his services he did not accept his voluntary offer to accompany the troops to Kujang as that move might intensify the activities of the rebels, the two leaders of which were closely attached to Chandradhwaj. Further, the presence of Chadradhwaj might antagonise the present Raja who thus would not use his influence to bring over the disaffected persons and to apprehend the leaders . The Government of Bengal had no strong proof for taking serious steps against the present Raja. Necessary istructions were given to Captain Kennett.[9]

Martial Law was still in operation in Cuttack, Kujang and Tiran. It was suggested that pardon be offered to all individuals except Narayan Parmaguru, Bamdeb Patjoshi and the Raja of Kujang who had committed acts of rebellion. Proclamation of offer of two rewards; one thousand rupees each, for the apprehension of Bamdeb Patjoshi and Narayan Paramaguru and an equal sum for the apprehension of Madhusudan Mangaraj, the Khandayat of Harish pur, were made.[10]

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According to the report of one Police Daroga the Raja of Kujang ultimately delivered himself up to Captain Kennett on 2 October 1817 and through his efforts Narayan Paramaguru and Bamdeb Patjoshi and a few of their followers were secured. The Vice-President in Council who acquainted that in consequence of no advice having been received from Captain Kennett, a second detachment had already left a few days ago for Kujang to open communication under the command of Captain Simpson.[11] Later on, the news was conveyed to the Government of Bengal that the rebellion in Kujang was entirely suppressed, the Raja had unconditionally surrendered and these two leaders were captured. It was further stated that the action in opposing deputation of the brother of the Raja of Kujang was justified by the surrender of the Raja. Captain Kennett was instructed to send the Raja to Cuttack, but the Military Commissioner had ordered otherwise. The Vice-President in Council was requested to give his dicision about the Raja and his estate and to sanction him the authority of paying the declared rewards for apprehension of Bamdeb Patjoshi and Narayan Paramaguru.[12] As a result of the unconditional surrender of the Raja and capture of these two rebels it was anticipated that there would be immediate and entire suppression of the rebellion in Kujang. Rewards for apprehension of the two ring leaders were paid to the persons recommended by the Magistrate. Captain Kennett was requested to send the Raja to Cuttack and depose the other two rebel leaders in accordance with the instructions of the Military Commissioner.[13]

The Raja of Kujang and the captured rebel leaders still remained in Paradip as Captain Kennett had not received orders from the Military Commissioner about their disposal. Peace and tranquillity gradually reigned in Kujang.[14] The Raja, the rebel leaders and an adviser of Bamdeb Patjoshi were despatched to Cuttack under military escort, presuming that the prisoners would not be made over to the civil power as the Military Commissioner was completely

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silent over the matter. The Raja and the persons were finally sent to the fort of Barabati and ratained their under a military guard. A total number of 56 including the above two were made prisoners. Afterwards these two rebel leaders were transported for life whereas the Raja was released after more than one year's imprisonment.

In view of complete restoroation of peace and good order in Kujang it was suggested for abolition of Martial Law by proclamation in Kujang from where the troops had been recalled. It was further stated that the police establishment was reduced in the thanas of Tiran and Gop and extra establishment of barkandazes were withdrawn from all other thanas. The military operations in Kujang had the beneficial effect of restoring tranquillity in every part of the territory with the exception of Khurda. Captain Kennett who did not receive any complaints from any class of people about abuse of oppression, expressed his conviction that the people of lower class generally were happy in Kujang being relieved from the violence and usurpation of Bamdeb Patjoshi and his followers. The Magistrate of Cuttack expressed the view that the insurrection was mainly due to excitement caused by the chief insurgents under inspiration from Bukshi Jagabandhu with whom they kept correspondences as proved by some intercepted letters. He held it to be indisputable that dissatifaction in that area mainly originated from the revenue system of the British and the security with which it had been acted upto.[15] It was suggested for abolition of Martial Law in Kujang in veiw of the seizure of rebels and tranquillity prevailing there.[16] By the end of October 1817 situation in Kujang was completely controlled, troops were withdrawn, police eatablishments were reduced and Martial Law was withdrawn from the troubled areas of Kujang. And at last peace and tranuillity prevailed.

After examining several cases Walter Ewer was of opinion that pardon might be extended to the persons namely, Biswamber

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Mohanty, Kubol Chhualsingh, Sindhu Barik, Lokanath, Govind Barik and Sripati Patra. But the rest were to be brought to trial as they were the principals in the Kujang insurrection.[17]

The trial of the leaders of Kujang rebellion, namely, Bamdeb Patjoshi and Narayan Paramaguru was kept pending before Walpole, the Officiating Judge of Circuit at Cuttack. In order to enable the Judge to try the case, the Naiks and Sepoys who were detained by the aforesaid leaders at the time of rebellion were instructed to attend his court for giving evidence. [18] Also rewards for the services rendered during the rising at Kujang were distributed. [19] The two chief leaders were transported for life.

During the Kujang insurrectoin two elephants and seven horses were captured from the Raja of Kujag and were delivered to the Commissariat. Besides, ten water boats were broken up by orders of Major General Gabriel Martindell and Martials, and the materials therein were deposited in the Commissariat. The cattle of the Raja of Kujang were surveyed. [20] The Raja made a complaint of the plunder of his property by the British troops under the command of Captain Kennett. Enquiry was made and report sought for. The Raja wrote a letter to the Magistrate of Cuttack on 29 October 1817 thus :

> "Of my own accord I placed myself in attendance on Captain Kennett and having caused the said persons (Viz. Narayan Paramguru and Bamdeb Patjoshi) to be seized, delivered them over to that gentleman. From my unlucky fortunes my property and cattles having been plundered by the Troops of the Sircar I have nothing left."[21] .

Captain Dinsdale explained that on the arrival of the detachment at Paradip on 14 September 1817 the paiks were driven out of the town by the force of the British arms. The Raja of Kujang

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had quitted his residence in the town of Paradip leaving certain property behind, which was found to be deposited in two rooms of the said house. Instantly, those properties were placed under a Guard (a native commissioned officer) for the protection of the property which appeared to consist of wearing apparel. The doors of the rooms were sealed. A guard remained on this duty until the Raja of Kujang surrendered. After the surrender the property would be delivered over to him. The war implements were previously repaired. It would be utterly impossible to account for any article or articles which the Raja of Kujang might have lost during his flight on 15 September 1817. At that moment the sepoys who were chasing him might have picked up some of the articles left behind by the Raja. These ornaments were, however, deposited with the Raja at Cuttack. [22]

The Vice-President in Council was desirous of receiving from the Commissioner of Cuttack the early explanation of the personal effects of the Raja of Kujang. H.L. White reported that the property of the the Raja were detained and the implements of war and ten private prows were brought up to Cuttack from Kujang. All these were broken up and hence unserviceable. This was done by mistake.[23] The Commissioner of Cuttack finally submitted explanation regarding the detention and disposal of the personal effects of the Raja of Kujang.[24]

The Vice-President in Council refrained from deciding on the expediency of bringing of Raja of Kujang to trial until the latter should be furnished with the sentiments of the Commissioner on the course of procedings to be hereafter pursued with regard to that person. He observed thus :

> " It is sufficient to remark that if the tenor and motives of his conduct shall appear on further enquiry to render his trial expedient, he must be prosecuted according to

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> the established court of Criminal Justice and that he should not in the interim be subjected to any degree of restraint, beyond that which may appear essentially necessary to present his absconding, pending the preliminary enquiry which is to be instituted into his conduct."[25]

The Vice-President in Council learnt with satisfaction that the restoration of tranquillity in Kujang in consequence of the success which attended the operation of the millitary detachment, rendered it no longer necessary to continue Martial Law in force in Kujang and he entirely approved the measures adopted by Major General Sir G. Martindell and the ex-magistrate for immediate reestablishment of the operation of ordianary laws and regulations in Kujang. [26]

On the insurrection in Kujang and the conduct of the Raja both the Commissioners, G. Martindell and Walter Ewer opined that sufficient evidence should be procured to convict the Raja of refusing to obey the summon of the Magistrate of Cuttack requiring him to attend at Cuttack on the breaking out of disturbance in his estate. They further observed :

> "It can also be proved that after thus aiming his disregard of the civil power, he manifested no design of checking the progress of the Insurgents; by interposing the authority which he must be supposed to have possessed over the Pykes dependent on his Estate."[27]

Although the Commissioners were in doubt whether they could be able to obtain direct evidence of the Raja having committed or expressely ordered the commission of any overt act of rebellion, it was fair to infer that he was atleast indifferent to the progress of the insurrection and did not make any attempt to oppose it until Captain Kennett's detachment compelled him to adopt a decided line of conduct.

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The Raja perceiving that the cause of rebellion was hopeless, had no hesitation in coming forward as a friend of the Government and immediately gave a striking proof of his authority and influence he possessed by causing the apprehension of the two chief insurgent leaders, namely, Narayan Paramaguru and Bamdeb Patjoshi.[28]

The Commissioners were also of opinion that the Raja of Kujang might be committed for trial on the grounds of above circumstances which afforded strong presumption of his connivances at the rebellious acts of his dependents. Although the Raja urged in his defence that the two above named leaders detained him under restraint during the whole period of the rebellion, it remained with him to prove the truth of this assertion when called on by the Court of Circuit. Should he succeed in doing this, it was true, he might escape the punishment due to rebellion. But he should at the same time satisfy to the Government that he was totally unfit to retain the management of his estate and instead of possessing sufficient authority to enable him to curb the turbulent spirit of his dependents (who might feel disposed to oppose the government) he became a tool in their hands. The Commissioner, therefore, observed :

> "It appears to us of little consequence whether the Rajah of Kujang has himself engaged in rebellion, or whether the imbecility of his character has enabled his servants to make use of his name, and avail themselves of his presence, to draw the lower orders of the people from their duty, and induce them to engage in acts of violence, which they would never have thought of it not apparently authorised and encouraged by their chief."[29]

The Commissioners were also of opinion that the Governement would be fully justified in directing either that the Raja should be committed for trial before the Court of Circuit for rebellion, or in ordering that he should be deprived of the management of his

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estate on the grounds of imbecility which had rendered him incapable of controlling his dependants. As the result of his trial could not be easily foreseen, it would be better to deprive him of the management of his estate. In case, the Raja was acquitted it would appear somewhat strange that although innocent, he should be punished by the forfeiture of his estate. It is true, the Commissioner observed that if the Raja was convicted, the law would award additional and severe punishmnet. But they did not think that it was necessary, because, whether proved or not, they believed that the Raja was extremely weak and foolish and he had been led away by Narayan Paramaguru and Bamdeb Patjoshi who would be tried for their part in the rebellion. The Commissioners thus remarked :

> "... for the sake of example, the forfeiture of Estate is sufficient to deter other Tributary Chief's from immitating the conduct of the Raja of Coojung; whilst,on the other hand, his trial before the Court of Circuit might only excite feelings of disgust and dissatisfaction."[30]

The Vice-President in Council did not consider it expedient that the Raja should be brought to trial on a charge of rebellion or of connivance at the rebellious act of his dependant. But he was mainly influenced by the considerations connected with the stated imbecility of the character of the Raja, with his voluntary surrender to Captain Kennett and with " his having subsequently exerted himself with success under an expedition of favour held out to him by Captain Kennett in e ffecting the seizure of Narayan Paramaguru and Bamdeb Patjoshi." In the interest of the public and due to the efficient manangement of the police the estate of Kujang should be placed under the charge of an individual better qualified to maintain order and to control the violence of ill-disposed person. The Vice-President in Council was necessarily prevented from

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forming a final jujdgement on the practicability of any increase of that nature until he should be fully appraised of the course of proceedings which had been recommended by the Commissioners keeping in view the legal accomplishment of that object. He further desired to know to whom the management of the estate had been entrusted since the surrender of the Raja, and whether any inconvenience was likely to result from its being continued for the present in the same hands.[31]

From the correspondence between the Military Commissioner and the Magistrate of Cuttack it was revealed that on 6 July 1817 information on the conduct of the Raja of Kujang was received. It was also reported that the Military Commissioner was about to despatch troops to Kujang. The Government of Bengal was informed that by withholding his assent to the proposition of the Military Commissioner for sending Chandradhwaj Sendh with the troops to Kujang the Magistrate had acted to the best of his judgement and it was hoped that his proceedings on the occasion, as well as the instruction furnished by him to Captain Kennett would be favourably viewed by the Vice-President in Council.[32] Edward Impey, Magistrate of Cuttack, in his letter to the Government of Bengal thus wrote on the Raja of Kujang and the insurrection there :

> "I am still of opinion that to the weakness of his intellects all the crimes imputable to him are to be ascribed, that his faults have their origin more in timidity than depravity, and that his case calls for consideration rather than condemnation. On such a character the Law will never visit its severest penalties even under a connection of guilt and would only award the sentence of close custody, a punishment inflicted upon him even previous to trial. On this ground alone the treatment the Raja at present experienced is in my opinion unjust, but when it is borne in mind, that he delivered himself up and became

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> the means of securing the chief Insurgents thereby at once crushing a rebellilon which might and evidently would have been protected(sic) for several months in opposition to any force we could bring against it we surely ought to evince a marked distinction in our treatment of the Raja and not exhibit him as enduring the same restraint as the other prisoners.. But were such considerations not allowed to operate in favour of the Rajah, policy alone seems to dictate the advisability of manifesting to the natives generally and particularly to the inhabitants of Kujang that the Rajah's case has not been prejudged,in the one instance to exhibit the leniency of Government in discriminating between providing resistance to authority and an early submission, and in the other to avoid possible cause for reviving the disturbances so happily terminated.[33]

Impey further opined :

> "... to my comprehension he only be tried by the law under which he lived, and whatever may be his offence the civil courts cannot in his case deviate from established rules; at all events the Rajah must be allowed to plead in his own defence, a right which is common to all delinquents, and which he is deprived of by close confinements, as he is ignorant of the forms of the Courts of Justice, weak in intellect unable to explain himself in writing he requires the aid of his old and confidential servants, who have during the rebellion been separated from him, and who are now not allowed to approach him." [34]

Impey again remarked :

> "Convinced as I am that by our Regulations both the Rajah and the three rebels now in the Fort of Barabutty ought to be made over to the Civil Power, satisfied as I

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> am that their case call for no departure from rules laid down for the trial of persons guilty of High Treason in the Upper Provinces, and that until that rule is repealed the detention of these persons under military authority is directly at variance therewith, and that the seizure of the Rajah's effects, the use and detention thereof by the military are acts unsanctioned by any law...."[35]

It appeared from the proceedings and correspondences of the Magistrate of Cuttack that early in April 1817 he required the attendance of the Raja of Kujang at Cuttack with the view of enabling him fully to exonerate himself from all suspicious connivance at or participation in the proceedings of his rebellious adherents. The Raja of Kujang on the receipt of the Parwana professed entire submission to the orders of the Magistrate, but detained swars who brought it for more than 10 days at his place of residence under various pretexts. When a fresh summon was sent to him, he at length, proceeded to Cuttack. Until Captain Kennetts's arrival in Kujang, the Raja was kept in a state of close restraint by the rebel sardars. The Raja, however, gave a different explanation of his conduct.[36]

The remarkable variation and inconsistency between the two apologies showed how little the vehement protestations of Raja Madhusudan Sendh were to be credited. In his petitions to the Commissioners he had in fact abandoned his early plausible ground of defence viz. that he avoided complying with the orders of the Magistrate and returned to Paradip to protect his family and property from the designs of the rebels. This excuse of the Raja might have been accepted had there appeared even tolerable reason to believe that any of his Sardars had readily acted in opposition to his orders and authority with the view of driving him from the Rajgee.[37]

From the period of his return to Paradip until September 1817, the Raja made no one single exertion to quell the riotous proceedings

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of his paiks notwithstanding the assurance held out in the concluding part of his letter to the Magistrate. The excuse preferred for the culpable and suspicious inactivity was that from the time of his leaving Puthuriah until Captain Kennett's arrival he was perfectly helpless and a prisoner in the hands of his own people whereas his letter to the ex-magistrate evinced that until June 1817 at least he was quite a free agent and that the paiks of one large division of his estate were willing to obey him. His dewan who was absent from Kujang at the time of the breaking out of the rebellion, did make some show of co-operating with the Daroga of Tirun, but rendered no effective assistance whatever.[38]

At the time of his flight from Paradip the Raja of Kujang could not have seen the proclamation and therefore, had not even the poor excuse to plead of having absconded from fear, or finding himself named amongst those who were in a manner proscribed by the Magistrate in negotiating the surrender of himself and the followers into the hands of Captain Kennett. The Magistrate of Cuttack on 6 July 1817 thus observed :

> "The conduct of the Raja of Kujang can remain no longer doubtful. Time and Opportunity having thencewith manifests his disinclination and attaches to him strong and immovable suspicion of disloyalty, which combined with his remaining unmolested on his estate, whilst its population is zealously acting, with those who first commenced opposition to Government, compels me reluctantly to relinquish my former opinion and to declare that I consider the Rajah's conduct to amount to violent presumption of Guilt."[39]

Andrew Stirling, Secretary to the Commissioner of Cuttack, observed that the degree of guilt attaching to the Raja of Kujang for any direct or indirect sanction of rebellious proceddings of those acknowledging and professing to act by his authority, in the first

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instance, must always remain a matter of some doubt and uncertain. The paiks and the sardars of Kujang after examination, confessed that they had acted from the beginning, as far as they acknowledged themselves to have committed any acts of a rebellious nature at all, by the orders of their chief. The first impulse to the rising in Kujang was given by an invitation from Buxi Jagabandhu. A general body prevailed amongst the inhabitants of the Moghulbundee Estates bordering on that territory that the paiks of Kujang acted throughout under the authority and instructions of Raja Madhusudan Sendh, and that at an early period after the events of the beginning of April 1817 in Khurda, Bamdev Patjoshi and Narayan Paramaguru waited on the Raja with a formal propositon to head an insurrection amongst his people against the authority of the British Government, and honorary dressess were conferred on these regularly constitued sardars.[40]

Stirling was also of view that the excessive folly of the Raja in yielding to such a proposal might be explained by reference to the known weakness and imbecility of his character. The fact that by an extraordinary coincidence all his more sage and moderate advisors, his dewan and his principal bebartas were absent at the time, either at Cuttack in attendance on the Magistrate or in other parts of the Moghulbandee. At the same time circumstances were not wanting which admitted of an inference that whatever the merits of the Raja's behaviour on the commencement of the rebellion, Bamdeb Patjoshi and Narayan Paramaguru acted for a time at least distinctly from and even in opposition to his authority.[41]

Stirling further reported that the Raja of Kujang was entirely innocent, actually incapable of quieting the disorders in his estate. Even when the Raja started for Cuttack, after being warned by the Daroga of Tirun, a body of paiks arrived at his place calling aloud "Prepare, Prepare" and he, shortly after, went off with the rebels in

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his palanquin towards Paradip amidst much tumultuous clamour and shouting. The suwars who deposed to the above facts were unable to state whether or not violence and constraint were used as they were encamped at a considerable distance from the spot. The Raja of Kujang was confined by the rebels during the period from April 1817 to September 1817.[42]

From the petition of the Raja it is known, however, that when he proceeded to Puthirias, Bamdeb Patjoshi and the rebel paiks of Kujang prevented him and formed a design of preventing his going to Cuttack. Bamdeb sent a party to plunder Paradip. On the way to Paradip the Raja was surrounded by the paiks. However, he reached safely. The Raja then started for Kujang to celebrate Devashnan Purnima. But the Paiks of Bamdeb refused to cross the river Maundmuraee. These rebels told him that they would no more obey him and instead appoint Chandradhwaj Sendh as their Raja. Raja Madhusudan Sendh, however, reached Kujang Garh. He wanted the help of the British Government in order to seize Bamdeb who had plundered Kujang.[43]

But the Secretary to the Commissioner of Cuttack stated that the rebel leaders Bamdeb Patjoshi and Narayan Paramaguru with 1000 rebel paiks imprisoned the Raja at Paradip. The intention of the rebel sardars was to murder the Raja and restore his brother Chandradhwaj to the Rajgee. Chadradhwaj having sent them to Killa Kujang with instructions to that effect, himself proceeded to Cuttack in order to keep up appearances. He was there placed under restraint by the Magistrate in consequence of the representations of the mokhtars of Raja Madhusudan Sendh. The mokhtars with a large body of paiks took Chandradhwaj under control. When the rebel sardars heard this, they put the Raja into close confinement. In this way Madhusudhan Sendh was detained as a prisoner for serveral months and could not reach Cuttack in time or meet the British Government.[44]

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The conduct of Madhusudan Sendh was described thus :

> ".... that he had quite identified his cause with that of the rebels, and was conscious of his own guilt. It is well-known that at the end of about fortnight,when his spirit was completely broken by the harassing and exposed life which he led in the Jungles continually pursued by the British Troops, he surrendered himself and effected the apprehension of the Sirdars Bamdeb Patjoshi and Narayan Paramugooroo solely through the instrumentality of his own people, thus evincing his perosnal authority over the paiks, and at the same time performing an important service which undoubtedly entitles him to mercy and indulgence in ordinary degree." [45]

Whatever might be the ultimate determination of the Government with regard to that person, the conduct of the Raja of Kujang, Madhusudhan Sendh, throughout the insurrection was to say the least so suspicious and appeared to admit of so little justification, whilst at the same time sufficient evidence was wanting to prove his direct participation in the rebellious acts of his followers, that his detention for so many months under restraint, his case could not justly be described by him as an unmerited hardship. His estate since his imprisonment had been entirely under the management of those ministers and agents, particularly, the dewan who in the past, in fact, conducted all the business when the Raja was present on it. No one however, had been formally appointed by the Magistrate to take charge of the zamindari of Kujang. Perfect quiet and tranquillity appeared to have prevailed there. [46]

In the meanwhile, W.B.Bayley instructed Andrew Stirling that no immediate orders appeared requisite as Robert Ker had assumed charge of the Commissioner in Cuttack, and his specific suggestions might be necessary with regard to the future disposal of

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the Raja of Kujang. Robert Ker had observed as follows :

> " My views of the culpability of the Rajah's conduct during the rebellion entirely coincide with those expressed by the Late Commissioners on the subject so much guilt indeed appeared to me to attch to his proceedings that I thought it advisable to wait the result of the trials of the Principal Kujang Rebels and the information which might thereby be disclosed previous to submitting any proposition to Government regarding the future disposal of the person of Rajah Maddoo-Soodun Sendh."[47]

He further remarked :

> "The facts and circumstnces brought to light during the course of the above trials strongly confirm the unfavourable impressions which a consideration of the Rajah's conduct and probable motives as far as they could be discovered was calculated to excite, at the same time no evidence has been indicated on a charge of rebellion or direct connivance at the rebellious acts of his followers, even were the Government disposed to bring him to trial, and my inquiries satisfy one that the Rajah's agents have amply provided that none such should be forthcoming from the parties who might best furnish it."[48]

Ker also observed thus :

> "As the Rajah of Coojung is a Zamindar subject to the Laws and Regulations of the British Government, I am not aware that he could be legally dispossessed of his Estate without a Trial as recommended by the late Commissioners. The two persons who were the efficient and most criminal leaders and instigators of the disturbances in Coojung have lately received sentence of perpetual imprisonment before the Judge of the Circuit

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> and there appears to me nothing on the state of that part of the District which furnishes any objection to Rajah Mooddoo Soodun Sund's release. The Rajah's detention as a state prisoner at Cuttack for upwards of a year, although a punishment very inadequate to his deserts, will serve as some expiation for his offences, and operate it, is to be hoped, as a warning example for the future."[49]

The Raja of Kujang for some time in the past resided in a private house in Cuttack under a guard of regular sepoys. G.B.Aird, Lt. Commanding the Kujang Raja's Guard, sought guidance and instructions in this regard from the Commissioner in Cuttack. [50] Afterwards, the Raja who was confined in the fort of Barabati remained in a bad state of health. His place of accomodation was very much uncomfortable and not likely to conduce to his recovery. Walter Ewer thought it proper that the Raja should be removed under his present guard to some habitation out of the fort and therefore, requested that Captaion Fraser would issue necessary orders permitting his removal as soon as a convenient home had been procured.[51] Major General Sir G. Martindell authourised Major Byres, Commanding at Cuttack, the removal of the Raja of Kujang from the fort and the latter was directed that as soon as it would be convenient, he should be in charge of his present guard. The present standing orders regarding him ought to remain in force i.e. persons be allowed free admittance to the Raja but he should not be permitted to quit the place of his confinement. The Raja had 15 attendants upon whom there were no restraints.[52] W.L.Melville requested Sub-Lt. Aird,Commanding Kujang Raja's Guard, to allow the Raja to visit him next morning i.e. on 30 May 1818 under a suitable guard as he also wished that Aird should meet him at 10 O' clock to have a conversation on the subject of the confinement of the Raja. [53] Melville again requested Aird that he would be so good as to conform to the following instructions that the Raja alone was to be considered under restraint. His attendants and

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others were to be allowed to come and go during the daytime without being at all interfered with. The Raja might be allowed such number of attendants not exceeding fifteen as pleased to remain with him during the night. He might be permitted to take men attended by an adequate guard on the bund before the house he occupied, but should not be permitted to go into the town. However, the Raja's wishes to meet Charles Becher was allowed. [54]

At last, the Government of Bengal resolved on 3 March 1818 that the Raja of Kujang should not be brought to trial for his conduct during the late rebellion.[55] Accordingly, R.Ker, Commissioner in Cuttack, recommended to the Government that the Raja should return to his own estate of Kujang.[56] The Governor-General in Council in December 1818 was pleased to order the release of Madhusudan Sendh, the Raja of Kujang, from confinement at Cuttack and directed Rebert Ker to set the Raja at liberty and allow him to return to his estate.[57] Ker accordingly instructed Brigadier Thomas, Commanding at Cuttack, to release the Raja on 17 December 1818 from confinement and remove the guards over him.[58]

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After the death of Madhusudan Sendh, the Raja of Kujang, in 1835 the question arose whether the minor Raja should be the heir and representative of the deceased or whether the estate of Kujang should be brought under Court of Wards, or be placed under the management of the mother of the minor Raja, provided, of course, she was considered a competent person to administer it.[1] At the same time the Commissioner of Cuttack sanctioned an amount for the entertainment of 2 moharirs at Rs. 8/- each per month for two months to prepare the settlement papers of the koth khareedah land of Janardan Sendh, the Raja of Kujang.[2] Abdul Dayan, Deputy Collector, was deputed for the settlement of the "Urzee of Koth Kareedah." The sudder jumma of the estate was fixed at Rs. 7503-9-7.

The Commissioner of Cuttack further sanctioned Rs. 889/- as an advance from the surplus profits of the estate of Kujang to enable the Raja to appeal against a decision of the Principal Sudder Amin as given in the case of Kahnai Lal Pandit. This decision had gone against the Raja. The Commissioner of Cuttack found that the claim of Kahnai Lal Pandit for Rs. 2100/- was one of those admitted by the Raja according to the statement furnished by the Collector. The Collector of Cuttack also allowed to use his discretion in making the advance sanctioned.[3]

The estate of Kujang was attached and on it H. Ricketts, Member, Board of Revenue, Calcutta, thus observed :

> "It was attached from the commencement of the present year, at the earnest solicitation of the Raja, who, brought to the verge of ruin, came into Cuttack and personally implored my interposition to administer the country and

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> to make settlement with his creditors. He agreed to sell off his personal property and reduce his establishments, this he has done, and under good management there is every reason to believe that in three years his fine Estate will be restored to him free from incumbrances."[4]

Ricketts further remarked that the instruments employed by the Raja of Kujang in managing his estate were of the most worthless description. The condition of the estate necessarily deteriorated. The subjects of the Raja also had shown a spirit of opposition. He suggested that the native system of management which had been so successfully followed in Aul and Kanika, would be introduced in Kujang. Hence he directed Ram Prasad Rai, Deputy Collector of Cuttack, to instruct the Tahasildar to obtain necessary information and accounts, and proceed into the moffussil. The Tahasildar was further instructed to determine the jumma which should be laid on each village and settled with the headmen. The engagement was to be made for two years only, in order that before their expiry such knowledge might be obtained about the resources of Kujang so that it would admit of the adjustment of the assessment for the remaining period of attachment. Ricketts proposed to settle the estate when funds would be available. The Raja seeing the beneficial effects of the latter, solicited this favour.[5]

In February 1850 the Commissioner of Cuttack instructed the Collector of Cuttack that before releasing the estate of Kujang from attachment it would be better to make a reference to the Civil Court to ascertain whether through its interference any arrangement could be made with the creditors who had obtained decree against the Raja for the gradual liquidation of their claims out of the profits.[6] However, the case against the Raja of Kujang was decided and decreed on 7 December 1852; but the execution of the order was stayed pending appeal to the Judge and Suddar Diwani Adalat.[7] The execution

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of the decree was further delayed by the death of the Raja, which was reported to the Collector of Cuttack on 4 December 1856. Soon afterwards, when the minor son of the deceased Raja applied to the Court of Wards for recovery, to put the decree into execution, reports were called for from Ram Prasad Ray, Deputy Collector of Cuttack and the Government Vakeel. But as no available funds belonging to the Harishpur Estate were in the charge of the Court of Wards, the decree could not at that time be put into execution.[8]

On 10 September 1856 Janardan Sendh Narendra Bahadur, Raja of Kujang died and had left two legitimate children; one, a girl of 3 years old, and a boy of 2 months old. The mother of these children had died earlier while in confinement. These children were under care of their aunt (mother's sister) who became the lawful wife of the deceased Raja. The deceased Raja had also two more wives who were living, a number of phulbaees, concubines and a crowd of illegitimate children. The estate of Kujang was heavily involved in debt to the tune of 3 lakhs. A part of this debt was incurred by the passion of the Raja for buying zamindaris in the Mughalbandi and then selling them to clear off the heavy liabilities.

The Commissioner of Cuttack despatched his Nazir to attach the moveable property and proposed to bring the boy and his step mother to Cuttack as soon as the funeral rites were performed so that the boy and the step mother could be protected from the intrigues of the illegitimate part of the late Raja's family. The Commissioner also thought that it would be of course necessary to appoint on a liberal salary a tahasildar, who should have the honour to address the Collector of Cuttack on this and other points relative to the management of the estate of Kujang in a few days.[9] He further proposed to sell by auction an elephant and 10 horses belonging to the estate on 17 Ocober 1856 at noon.[10]

Regarding the appointment of an officer to remain in charge

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of the estate of Kujang having the power of Deputy Collector, Deputy Magistrate and Asstistant Salt Agent, instead of a mere Tahsildar, the Collector of Cuttack was of opinion that there could be no doubt that such an arrangement, if practicable, woule be a highly desirable one. He also did not think that there would be any difficulty on account of the expense to the estate because it would, as he presumed, be charged with only its fair quota of the aggregate salary and this quota would certainly not exceed the sum which would be necessary for securing the services of an effiecient and trustworthy Tahasildar. The only extra expense would be the salary of a subordinate Tahasildar which would not exceed Rs. 40/- per month. The principal difficulty was that for the first year the officer's time would be so fully employed in extricating the estate from the confusion into which its affaris had fallen, that he doubted, if he could be of much use in other departments. He should, therefore, be disposed in the first instance to appoint a Tahasildar on Rs. 100/- per month and then increasing his pay afterwards or substituting an officer of a higher grade as might be most expedient. There were three officers of this class, still without permanent employment; Amir Baksh who was employed as Tahasildar of Madhupur, Guruprasad Bose and Jagamohan Rai Chudamani. The choice lay between the first two. The third one besides being of somewhat inferior qualification compared to others, had much land of his own to manage, and therefore, not likely to give his full attention to the estate of Kujang. Of the two, the first would in his opinion be an efficient tahasildar as he had in his management of Madhupur, given great satisfaction. But after four months when the Raja would come of age, and then if it could be well avaoided, it did not therefore appear to him advisable to make a change at this juncture.[11]

The other officer, Guru Prasad Bose, after the abolition of the office of the Deputy Collector which he held, was at first employed in Banki and then promoted to the tahasildarship of the Tributary

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Mahal of Nayagarh. Several disturbances took place in Nayagarh and eventually the tahsil establishment was remodelled. Guru Prasad Bose was removed at the recommendation of the Commissioner of Cuttack and by the order of the Government of Bengal. On his removal the following were observed by the Collector of Cuttack :

> "From what he had heard, he imagined that nothing was laid to his charge beyond inability to cope with the peculiar difficulties in which the affairs of the Killas were then involved. The records of the Commissioner's office of course show to what extent he was considered open to censure, but unless he was much more seriously to blame then he at all imagined, he should be disposed to recommend him for the Tahsildarship. Failing him Ameer Buksh was in all respects the fittest man and had the strongest claims of any one in the province."[12]

There was another officer who was considered to be of a superior stamp to either of these. He was Shib Prasad Singh, Munshiff of Kendrapara, who was formerly a Peshkar in the Puri Collectorate. He had not the requisite qualification in the judicial line for the post of a Tahsildar with a salary of Rs.100/- per month. To secure his services it would be necessary to bring him in the list of Deputy Collector and providing additional sum of Rs. 100/- for the charges of the Salt and Fauzdar Departments. But there were objections to this plan which were :

> "......first, that as he had before mentioned,he did not believe that it would be possible for him to attend to the duties of either of these Departments until the Kujang affairs were reduced to order - which could not be for a full year-, and secondly because the references necessary before those extra powers and expenditure could be sanctioned would cause a delay, most seriously prejudicial to the interests of the estate."[13]

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The Collector of Cuttack recommended that either Guru Prasad, failing him, Amir Buksh should be immediately appointed Tahsildar of Kujang on a salary of Rs. 100/- per month and an establishment as mentioned below aggregating to Rs. 81/- should be allowed : [14]

1	Peskar	-	Rs.	15/-
1	Head Moharir	-	Rs.	12/-
1	Moharir	-	Rs.	8/-
2	Moharir @Rs. 7/-	-	Rs.	14/-
	Stationary	-	Rs.	4/-
1	Potdar	-	Rs.	4/-
1	Jamadar	-	Rs.	4/-
4	Chaparasis	-	Rs.	16/-
	Total	-	**Rs.**	**81/-**

Less than this sum would not suffice when the fearful confusion in which the Raja of Kujang had left his whole affairs. The next important points were as follows : [15]

> "First, the immediate sale of the Moghulbundee Estates which are subjoined, a list of all those standing in the Late Raja's name and requested the sanction order of the Commission to sell them by auction after a notice of 15 days.
>
> Secondly, the sale of the livestock--on this subject he had made a separate report.
>
> Thirdly, the Raja's debts. He would submit a detailed list very shortly. The following was the abstract as far as ascertained :

1.	Due to Mahajans decreed by Civil Court	-	Rs. 1,835,70-6-1
2.	Supported by Tummosooks	-	Rs. 8900-0-0

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3.	Supported by Rukhoo - Muth Oegeraya	Rs. 1570-0-0
4.	Unsupported by any Documents	Rs. 571-9-0
5.	Arrears of Wages of Servants -	Rs.2772-1-3
6.	Due to trades people and for articles purchased. -	Rs. 12652-7-8$^1/_2$
	(Besides accruing interest)	
	Total :	Rs. 210036-8-11$^1/_2$"

The Collector of Cuttack remarked that the last three classes of debts could wait and would require a good deal of shifting. The examination of it might be made over to Ram Prasad Ray, Deputy Collector, should he not be required for settling the affairs at Dompara. Ramprasad Ray did not have in fact to give a proper degree of attention to this duty.[16]

The details of the debts incurred from the Mahajans for which decrees had been obtained were as follows : [17]

"Golak Chandra Bose	- Rs. 85946-3-4
(To be paid off by Kists in 7 years)	
Raghunath Das	- Rs. 43510-1-4
(In two separate decrees)	
Soona Baee (Widow of Hiralal)	- Rs. 3601-0-1
(Decreed on 15 July 1853)	
Radhakanta Das	- Rs. 4472 - 0-0 (Urgent)
Mohan Bhagat	- Rs. 16577-12-2 (Urgent)
- do -	- Rs. 18841-10-3
(The creditor will not wait)	
Najeeb Khan	- Rs. 10,621-10-11
Total	**Rs. 183570-6-1"**

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As regards maintenance allowance to the family members of the Raja of Kujang, the Collector of Cuttack stated that the family was a large one and for their maintenance he proposed the following sum for the list of members as annexed below.*[18]

"First - Rani Chitrakala Patamahadei	-	Rs. 100/-
Her daughter Pirottamma Jema and Son, the minor Raja	-	Rs. 25/-
2nd Servants etc.	-	Rs. 25/- per month
Rani Subarnamali Patamahadei	-	Rs. 50/-
3rd. Sunabatti Patamahadei	-	Rs. 50/-
4th Chandrabati Patamahadei	-	Rs. 50/-
5th. Phulbai Tilottamma Dei Her daughters Subarnarekha Jema and Tulsi Jema and son Bidyadhar Harichandan Samant Singhar.**		
6th. Phulbai Gehla Dei, her daughter Chandramani Jema and sons Sadananda Sreechandan Raghunath	-	Rs. 20/- per month.
Mandatta, Chakravarti Samant, Gadadhar Samant, Parsuram Samant and Tribikram Samant.'		

There were 4 estates yielding in all an annual profit of about Rs. 160/- which the family would enjoy in addition to the monthly

* (The Collector of Cuttack considered that no further allowance was required for the family)

** (An estate yielding an annual profit of about 3500 having been purchased by the Raja in this son's name)

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allowance. As regards the servants of the estate he would propose the following scale for this establistment :

1	Bewarta	-	Rs.	15/-
2	Mokhtars	-	Rs.	25/-
4	Rajoonovis	-	Rs.	20/-
1	Khandaitra	-	Rs.	5/-
	Stationary	-	Rs.	2/-
	Total :		**Rs. 67/-**	

These men would be absolutely necessary to check the accounts on the part of the numerous guardians, would furnish information to the government officers, carry on suits and would assist in arranging debts. The total expenses of the management would thus be as follows. : [19]

1 Tahsildar Rs., 100/-	-	Rs.100/-
Establishment of Tahsildar, Rs.81/-	-	Rs. 81/-
Maintenance of Head Rani and Family	-	Rs. 150/-
3 Other Ranis	-	Rs. 150/-
1 Phulbai and 6 Children	-	Rs. 20/-
Servants of the Estate, Rs. 67/-	-	Rs. 387/-
Total :		**Rs. 568/- per month.**

The annual expenditure would thus amount to Rs. 6816/-. The estate would be well able to bear this. In case of the increase in expenditure these would be settled. It would be advisable to make in almost all the items of expenditure. The debts as the above abstract would show more or less than had been supposed and the assets were reported by the Nazir who was still in charge of the property to be even then and after deducting the tribute of a sum Rs. 46000/-. Of this sum about Rs. 13000/- had been alienated as Debottar

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and Khanja. But he thought that they would be able to reclaim most of it. Shortly he would be able to submit a detailed list of all the moveable property as well as of the liabilities of the estate. Lastly, the Collector of Cuttack solicited early instructions with regard both to the appointment of a Tahsildar and the sale of the Moghulbundi estate. [20]

The moveable property of the estate of Kujang which was despatched from the killa before the death of the minor Raja reached Cuttck. As there was uncertainty regarding the succession to the estate, the Collector of Cuttack could not hand it over to anyone, and as the charge of it would entail a considerable expense on the heavily burdened estate he requsted the Commissioner of Cuttack to dispose of the estate by auction on receiving the written permission of both the claimants so as to avoid the possibility of a future action in the Civil Court. [21]

Among the property, some quantity of salt and some 25 hackery loads of gunpowder were found. Both these articles were to be sold immediately; the first on account of the deterioration to which it was exposed; the latter, on account of the extreme risk attending it. As the gunpowder was considerably in excess of that authorised to be stored under Act XVIII of 1841, the Collector of Cuttack proposed under Section II of that Act to confiscate the proceeds of the sale to the Government.[22] Regarding the gun powder he stated that he had on his own responsibility sold off the whole of it in lots of 20 seers each. His object was of course to disperse a material so dangerous when collected in such large quantities. He explained that the gun-powder was of such age as to be worthless for any purpose, but that in which it would speedily be expended, viz; fireworks. He could see the objectives that would exist to any extensive distribution of what might, if it found its way into hostile hands, be used for purposes of offence, but this could not be the case with the old worn-out material in

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question. The Collector of Cuttack sought instructions from the Commissioner of Cuttack before disposing of the material or the other alternatives mentioned by lodging it in the Government magazines. As it is, while expressing his regret for having, as it had turned out, acted contrary to the wishes of the Commissioner, he believed that it was nothing but the emergency of the cases which made him think for himself and justified the step which he took.[23]

The quantity of powder was somewhat less than which he had first supposed. In all there were only about 50 or 60 maunds as he had not the exact account with him in the camp. These were inferior both in quantity and quality and had been disposed of after the confiscation of Banki in 1840. In regard to the confiscation of the gunpowder under Section II of Act XVIII of 1841 the Collector of Cuttack remarked that it did not appear to him that the Section in question had any reference to the purpose for which the powder was stored, whether for exportation or otherwise. He did not consider that the award of the Collector of Customs was in any way dependent on a conviction before the Magistrate and wished to credit the proceeds of the sale to the Estate. He further remarked that the gun powder was sold at Rs. 2-8-0 per lot of 20 seers- a price which was itself a sufficient index to its quality. It is said to be the remains of what was collected by the ancestors of the Raja before the British rule.[24]

In the meanwhile, Rani Chitrakala Patamahadei died of cholera. She was the aunt and guardian of the infant Raja of Kujang. The Collector of Cuttack sent for the elder Rani, Subarnamali Patamahadei from the Kujang garh and proposed to appoint her as guardian. Neither she nor the other two Ranis had any interests opposed to those of the infant. They were in fact very much attached to the child and were disappointd at not being allowed to accompany him to Cuttack. The elder Rani was a woman of education and intelligence and bore a very good character. She would of course

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receive the allowance destined for the former Rani and her own with a sum total of Rs. 50/-. In this way a month elapsed. In addition to this establishment formerly sanctioned, the Collecter of Cuttack sought the sanction of Government for a guard of 4 barkandazes. The Raja's residence was at a considerable distance from the town, and while a guard was therefore necessary for the safety of the property, neither was the limited sum proposed for the maintenance of the Raja sufficient for this additional expenses nor was it expedient that the barkandazes should be considered a part of the private establishment under the sole control of the guardian. Further he solicited the authority for disbursing the sum of Rs. 300/- on account of the funeral rite of the deceased.[25]

While such arrangements were going on, the young Raja of Kujang died on 23 November 1856 at 4 p.m. There was no reason to suspect foul play in his death.Yet the Collector of Cuttack directed for a postmortem examination of the dead body. The result of the examination proved that the child died from convulsions produced by natural causes.[26]

The Collector of Cuttack apprehended that the melancholy event would have the effect of removing the estate from government management. There would probably be a disputed succession. But as both claimants were of age, the British Governement would not interfere. The Collector of Cuttack proposed, as had been agreed in their conversation that morning, to apply to the civil court for instructions relative to the disposal of the estate and property. Under the altered circumstances of the property it was unnecessary further to discuss the advisability of selling the Mogulbundi Estate of the late Raja. The Collector of Cuttack stated that the estate of Kujang was originally attached only for a specific period viz. 4 years, within which the Raja calculated that his debts might be liquidated on the expiry of that period as he did not desire the attachment to be renewed.

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As only half the debts had been paid i.e., Rs. 64,435-15-7 out of Rs. 130, 732-7-7 and as the prospect of entirely reducing the estate seemed distant and uncertain, it was restored to the Raja. This was a case of April 1850 and it was calculated that at that time a debt of Rs. 66,296-7-7 was still hanging over the Killa of Kujang even supposing that the Raja had not, as was surmised, contracted fresh debts in the interim.[27]

The Collector of Cuttack received a proceeding from the Judge of Cuttack directing him to make over possession of the estate of the late minor Raja of Kujang to Ramahari Samant, the brother of the former Raja, Jadunath Sendh and consequently, the uncle of the deceased minor. In order to carry out the order of the Judge of Cuttack, he called on Ramahari Samant who had been considered to be the Raja of Kujang, to name someone, to receive charge of the property for him. But he apprehended that he would be in no haste to do so. It appeared that the Raja had presented a petition to the Commissioner of Cuttack requesting that the property might remain in attachment and the latter sent it to the Collector of Cuttack with directions to make an English report on the subject.[28]

The advisability of keeping the management of the property in the hands of the Collector appeared to depend altogether on the probability of its again returning to his charge after it had once been transferred to the Raja. If by then, making it over,they could be relieved of it altogether, he should strongly recommend their doing so. The estate of Kujang was so heavily involved that scarcely anything but the opportunities afforded by a long minority would give them a chance of extricating it, and considering the character of the present Raja, and of his advisers, he considered that no permanent benefit would come either to the Raja or the ryots even if, contrary to all probability, they should succeed in clearing off the debts. The Collector of Cuttack informed that the Commissioner of Cuttack was aware

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that the former Raja of Kujang had obtained the sanction of the then Commissioner of Cuttack, A.J.M.Mills, to the management of his estate. When they were restored to him the debts were paid off within Rs. 40.000/- and he did having incurred fresh liabilities to the amount of Rs. 2 lakh. There seemed no reason to suppose that the career of the present Raja would be different from that of his predecessors, and the Collector of Cuttack hoped that the Raja would not both hamper and harass the Government during their administration of the estate or as soon as some liabilities, deemed to have it returned to him. [29]

The Raja was, however, so anxious that the estate should remain under the British management that it appeared to the Collector almost certain that an order for its attachment would sooner or late emanate from the Civil Court. The rival claimant Bidyadhar Samant had appealed against the summary order of the Judge, and although the order would under Regulation XIX of 1841 be ordinarily final, he imagined that a special appeal possibly be made as the said order seemed contrary to law. He did not of course say that it was contrary to law. But as Bidhyadhar Samant's party declared that this was the ground of their appeal, and they would appear to have some prima facie ground to go upon, it was necessary to take into consideration the possibility of the present decision being reversed in which case he felt a curator would undoubtedly be appointed and the Killa of Kujang placed under the Collector.[30]

The only way in which the estate of Kujang could be attached, appeared to the Collector, to be by agreement between the Raja of Kujang and the creditors in which cases, according to constitution 752 of 1 February 1833, the Revenue authorities would not be permitted to manage it and there could hardly be any doubt that two parties would come to an agreement much to their mutual advantage. The rival claimant declared that after bringing a regular suit, he would

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petition to have the property attached under Section II of 1806. But the Collector apprehended that there was no chance of his prayer being granted so far as the Killa was concerned, for he would never be able to show that the party in possession intended to alienate or dispose of the estate however grossly he might mismanage it.[31]

Section IV, Regulation V of 1799 would appear to oblige the Judge to call on Ramahari Samant for security,which in this case would be tantamount to attaching the property on the institution of a regular suit by the other party. But he understood that whatever be the cause, this Section was not carried into practice.[32]

The two possibilities, therefore, that the Collector of Cuttack had to contemplate were that Bidyadhar Samant might succeed on appeal on setting aside the present summary decision of the Judge. Or that either Bidyadhar Samant or Ramahari Samant whichever party might eventually obtain the property, might be in agreement with the creditors, procured an order for attachment from the Civil Court.[33]

On the whole, the Collector of Cuttack recommended to retain the mangement of the estate, should Ramahari Samant wished it until the decision on the appeal of Bidyadhar Samant was taken. The present possessor would in the meantime have had an opportunity to take steps for the attachment of the property on account of the creditors and in this way the British authorities might avoid the inconvenience of letting the property go only in order to take it back again. He should however insist on Ramahari Samant's agreeing to continue the maintenance allowacne of the Rani, which was formerly made to them. While the property was in the hands of the Government the Collector of Cuttack could hardly see these unfortunate ladies starve before their eyes. [34]

The Collector of Cuttack sought the sanction of the Commissioner of Cuttack a sum of Rs. 56,000/- towards payment

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from the proceeds of the Kujang to Galak Chandra Bose, one of the creditors of the estate. It may be mentioned that the entire amount of this debt was Rs. 10990-6-2$^1/_2$ payable according to the decree of the Civil Court in two kists. The first was due and failing it, the estate was liable to sale.[35] Further, the Collector of Cuttack solicited the sanction of the Commissioner to charge from the funds of the Kujang estate a sum of Company Rs. 76-15 as detailed below on account of expenses incurred during the life-time of the minor Raja.[36]

"For repairing the lodging house of the Raja at Cuttack	- Rs. 36-4-3
Travel charges of Subarnamali Patamahadei, Guardian of the deceased infant Raja, from Kujang to Cuttack.	- Rs. 40-10-9
Total :	**Rs. 76-15-00**

The Collector again requested the Commissioner for granting him to entertain an extra moharir for two months on a salary of Rs. 8/- a month to examine into and make out the accounts of wages, if due to the various servants of the former Raja of Kujang, whose claims amounted in the aggregate to about Rs. 4314-1-7. The Collector took the opportunity of stating that the Judge had in conformity with an application which he made to him under Section VIII Regulation V of 1799 requesting him to name a fit sarbarakar of the property and to specify the security to be required from him. He had accordingly, given the name of the present Tahsildar, Ameer Buksh, and he imagined that the result would be that the estate would be attached continually under his management and supervision until the question of succession was settled which could scarcely be much before the expiry of another year.[37] The Collector also disbursed from the funds of the estate of Kujang a sum of Rs.23-8-0, on account of

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the travelling allowance of the Nazir while deputed to attach the property of the estate.

With regard to one of the four estates exempted from sale as per last quarterly statement, the reason for exempting it was that the balance was very trifling and it was due in consequence of quarrels between the share-holders, and was offered only 2 days after the last day fixed for payment. In the other 3 cases the Raja of Kujang was one of the share-holders and the minor Raja happened at that period to have died leaving a disputed succession - there was no one to make arrangements for the payment of the arrears. Under such circumstances considering the trifling amount of the balance and after the proffer either by the co-sharers or the late Raja's guradian, of the full amount due within a very few days of the latest day, it appeared an extremely harsh measure to insist on the sale of the estate, which were exempted accordingly. The Collector of Cuttack assured that thedirections of the Commissioner of Cuttack regarding similar explanation in future cases of the kind would be followed. They would make it necessary to enter each exempted estate in detail. [39]

The Collector of Cuttack forwarded a copy of a rubukari of 17 April 1857 from the Civil Court and enquired whether the estate of Kujang could be attached and managed by the Government on account of the debts of the estate under constitutions 752 and 1039. It appeared to him that the Judge had under the constitutions in question, the power to order him to undertake the management of the estate. He apprehended that the reason of his preliminary enquiry was that he had previously intimated to him and that if the estate which the Commissioner was aware, was previously under the Collector's jurisdiction in the Department of Court of Wards, should be delivered over to the present claimant to the Raj, it would seriously increase the difficulties already attending its management if he should again be required to undertake it. He should not, however, be willing

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to take adavantage of the Judge's courtesy to raise objections which he might, if he were so willed, even rule; and he must remark that although in confromity with the instructions contained in the letter of the Commissioner of Cuttck, all collections from the estate had been stopped, the Raja had contrived to postpone assuming its management in hope of orders being issued by the Civil Court to keep the estate under attachment.Under these circumstances there would not be any greater objection to his undertaking the management of Kujang than allowing it to exist in any other large and grossly mismanaged property. There would be a serious addition to his labours, without, so far as government interests were concerned, much corresponding advantage. But he did not think this was a sufficient reason for refusing to receive charge of the property. He solicted instructions in the subject from the Commissioner of Cuttack.[40]

The completion of the sale of the moveable property made at the request of the present Raja of Kujang, that came into their hands on the attachment of the estate of the Raja Janardan Sendh was made under the authority of the Court of Wards. The property had obtained a fair price and realized in all Rs. 9218-12-2. The commission due on this sum to the Nazir who conducted the sale at 1 anna in the rupee, was Rs. 572-2-9. The Collector of Cuttack requested the Commissioner of Cuttack to pay that sum to the Nazir when the whole of the purchase-money were collected as per the Circular No. 38 of 25 February 1820 of the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Circular No. 116 of 12 August 1842 of the Sadar Nizamat Adalat. It seemed a large sum. But the labour-expense and responsibility of realizing the innumerable petty items which made up the aggregate of Rs. 9218-13-2 must also be taken into consideration. [41]

There was an increase in the entire quantity of business both disposed of and pending as compared with last year. But if this increase was confined to two headings, namely, claims to money in deposit

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and miscellaneous lossess, and were, as explained in the last quarterly statement of the Collector of Cuttack, referable to the peculiar circumstances of the estate of Kujang, he might have taken the opportunity afforded by the order of the Civil Courts for giving over the property to one of the two claimants to strike off all these cases and so had exhibited a clear file and a large apparent increase of work. But as it deemed extremely likely that the estate would be immediately returned to Collector's management, necessitating the reinstitution of all these cases in status quo,it appeared to him that it would be more correct to retain them until the main question regarding the estate was finally disposd of. His files thus appeared somewhat at a disadvantage, but they gave a more correct view of the state of the office than the other course would have afforded. [42]

Relating to the proposal of the Civil Court to attach the estate of Kujang for the benefit of the creditors, the Collector of Cuttack replied in conformity to the general tenor of the instructions of the Commissioner of Cuttack, although it would undoubtedly cause a good deal of harassing and profitless labour. They were to undertake the management as the Civil Court had full power to order him to do so. In the event of this power being exercised he could not refuse compliances accordingly. He had in due course received instruments from the Principal Sadar Amin with whom (and not as erroneously stated in his former letter to the Judge) the case laid to resume the management of the property. The Raja of Kujang made a petition for the reduction of the expenses of the management, but in the question the Principal Sadar Amin very properly inclined to interfere, [43]

The list of charges for maintenance on the estate amounted to Rs. 9416-5-9 which was inclusive of tribute and collection expenses. The figure was known according to a petition filed by the Raja and approved by the Civil Court. The tribute was Rs. 7503-3-10 and the collection expenses according to the persent scale was about Rs. 2171/-. Making in all a sum of Rs. 19091-9-7 this would leave

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an estimated surplus of about Rs. 33474/- affording a prospect of the release of the estate in about 10 years. [44]

The Collector of Cuttack reminded that there were in it two qestions which required an immediate reply. First, whether he considered the present Tahsildar fit for the post and secondly, whether it would not be advisable to raise the salary of the appointment to Rs.150/- per month in order to seucre the services of a thoroughly competent man. [45]

With regard to the Tahsildar he had certainly not been well satisfied with his management hitherto but it must be remembered that he had been placed in a rather embarrasing position,first, from the want of the previos papers of the estate which on one pretext or another for a longtime were withheld by the confusion and uncertainty consequent on the death of the minor and the disputed succession. He was undoubtedly an honest,well intentioned man and he was disposed to give him a further trial. Another year would show clearly how far he was competent to deal with the difficulties of his position and a change at the present juncture would seriously complicate matters.[46]

With this view of the case he, of course, did not consider it necessary to raise the salary of the appointment and he doubted if the circumsatnces of the property were such as to justify so heavy an addition of Rs. 600/- a year to the expenses of the management in the single item of the tahsildar's salary. The tahsildar had requested that he should be invested with the powers of a sole commissioner under Regulation I of 1839.[47]

The tributes due from the estate of Kujang in three kists were as given below :

In April		Rs.2533-11-11
In June		Rs. 2535-11-11
In July	-	Rs. 2432-1-9
Total	-	**Rs. 7703-9-8**

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Of these kists the first was credited partly in February and the rest in April. There could never be any difficulty in the realization of the government revenue because the amount due to the estate from the Salt Agency almost covered it so that the government had only to send a rubukari to the Salt Agent to remit to this office any sums he might have to pay to the estate of Kujang. The 'bakeya' collections for 1856, so far as they could be ascertained, had been realized only to the amount of Rs.7947-9-8 as the rent for 1857 and the Tahsildar had been urged to realise the balance sum as soon as possible.But the circumstances, as he had already noticed, were sufficient to explain the slackness hitherto apparent.[48]

Regarding the sale of the moveable property of Kujang and the commission due thereon to the Nazir, the Collector of Cuttack should certainly not have considered himself justified in selling so large an amont of property solely on the authority, as conveyed in the letter referred to in the second paragraph of the Commissioner of Cuttack. But as the Judge had directed him to make over the whole of the property unconditonally to the party in whose favour the claim had been summarily decided, as the Raja of Kujang himself had requested that the property might be sold. And as the rival claimant had also petitioned to this effect, it appeared to him not only that he was authorised to sell it but that under these peculiar circumstances it would have been very difficult to dispose of it otherwise. It would be best, he thought, to retain the amount due to the Nazir in deposit, pending the expiry of the time allowed for appeal.[49]

The attachment of Killa Kujang was under orders of the Civil Court. On the recommendation of the Collector of Cuttack, Ameer Buksh might be allowed to continue in charge of the establishment. But he must be clearly given to understand that if at the close of one year he was found not to have given justification,his services would be dispensed with. In regard to the salary of the

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Tahsildar he saw no reason why it should not be raised to Rs. 140/- per month. The collections were not only very large i.e. about Rs. 52565/-, but the management would involve a great deal of trouble and responsibility. The Board of Revenue recently sanctioned Rs. 100/- on account of the salary of the Tahsildar of Killa Dompara, whose collections, trouble and responsibility were considerably less in comparison to Kujang. [50]

With the debts on the charges for maintenance of the estate of Kujang the Government had nothing to do. The latter seemed to be on a very liberal scale and the existence of the former was owing to no fault of the Revenue Department. The petition for the expenses of management to be reduced under these circumstances appeared to him to have been very unbecoming. [51]

It is impossible to secure the honest services of a suitable tahsildar unless he was paid at a liberal rate and as the estimated surplus collections were very large, the Commissioner saw no reason, whatever, why the tahsildar should not be paid at least as highly as the Tahsildars of other tributary mahals. He, therefore, sanctioned Rs. 140/- per month as the salary of the tahsildar of Kujang.

In regard to the tahsildar being appointed, a sale commissioned under Act I of 1849, it would be necessary with reference to the last orders of the Board of Revenue in the similar case of Dompara to appoint another person to this duty. The Commissioner of Cuttack drew the attention of the Collector of Cuttack to Section 7 of the Rules for the management of attached estates circulated with the Board's Letter No. 6 of 14 March 1851, which directed the preparation of a jummabundi recourse to measurement; if necessary, it was particularly desirable in the case of this estate which was likey to remain for many years under attachment to have its assets fully enquired into and ascertained.[53]

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The Commissioner of Cuttack sanctioned an extra Moharir at Rs. 15/- per month. The amount in this head might be paid out of the estate of Kujang which was under attachment by the orders of the Civil Court,.[54] He also enquired whether the Nazir of the Collector of Cuttack had any trouble or responsibility in collecting the articles of the Raja of Kujang and taking care of the articles for the time being or if he had only managed the mere sale and realization of bids. Further, he required that how many separate lots were there at the sale and how many days it occupied. [55]

In a summary report submitted to the Government of Bengal, the Commissioner of Cuttack stated that the Raja of Kujang had been convicted by the Magistrage of Cuttack of contravention of Act XVIII of 1841 by having in possession of 20 maunds of gun powder besides $1^1/_2$ maunds of sulphur and 3550 bullets. The Raja was sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 500/-. The personal attendance of the Raja was required as this example would likely have a good effect. In common with the Magistrate, he did not suppose that any hostile designs were entertained by the Raja who perhaps merely wished to be ready in case of matters turning out such as to require the powder to be used. [56]

The Commissioner of Cuttack approved of the proposal and arrangements of the Collector of Cuttack, consequent on the death of the Raja of Kujang. He approved of the removal of Ameer Buksh from the tahsildarship of the attached estate of Kujang on account of his mental and physical incapacity, and of the Collector's appointing Narayan Prasad Lal as his successor. He instructed that intimation of the above should be immediately given to the Civil Court with a request for approval of the arrangement. Security should of course be taken from the new sarbarakar previous to his entering on the duties of his office. The Collector of Cuttack further approved of the appointment of Krishna Prasad Sen to be Tahsildar of Sukinda in

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place of Narayan Prasad Lal. He was also of opinion that a medical fee chargeable to the estate of Kujang was due to Dr. Crowduce for his examination and report on the state of Ameer Buksh's health; the matter being one in which the Government was not concerned, nor did it fall within the ragne of his own ordinary duties. [57]

In so far as Kujang was concerned there was no necessity for further considering the point as the estate would be shortly released from attachment as before stated, and it would rest with the responsible party to whom it was made over to grant or refuse the remissions proposed. Of the other mahals one was a small property attached along with Kujang and application for the release of the one had been made to the Civil Court.It being understood that the case had been pending before the Civil Court,it had been finally disposed of lakhiraj. Four mahals should have been originally taken possession by the Collector at Huzgool and were irregularly attached in the first instance but as they were now the subject of litigation no good would result from applying for the releases. The mahals had been all under hustabood management the collections of six being entrusted to the kanongoes while Kujang and the small lakhiraj confined mahal attached with it had been under a sarbarakar. [58]

The estate of Kujang would be released immediately in accordance with the order of the Board's Circular No. 12 of 9 June of 1858. A total amount of Rs. 22187-7-3 were to be collected but Rs. 381-14-10 had been remitted so far, since the close of the year and Rs. 9189-15-0 had been reported for remission, the balance being in train of recovery. [59]

The officiating Collector of Cuttack submitted a Draft of the Deed in English to be taken from the Raja of Kujang as per the point referred to in Para 2 of the letter of the Board which had been made the subject of the 3rd clause of the agreement.

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Draft Agreement of Kujang Raja

"Whereas I Rajah Sree Murdaraj Sree Bidyadhar Sendh, Narendra, Zamindar of Killa Kujang etc. have consented to put my Estates under the charge of Govt. to be held khas for 10 years in order that my debts may be paid off from the proceeds, I do hereby bind myself as follows :

1st - I will consent to receive for the subsistence of myself and family religious rites, and other personal purposes whatever sum Govt. may determine to allow me.

2nd - I will not openly or secretly contract any additional debts nor borrow in order to pay off any of the exisitng debts without the consent of the Collector.

3rd - If I violate the above engagement by contracting additional debts, the Collector shall be at liberty at once to withdraw from the Government of the Estates.

4th - If the debts be paid before the expiration of the 10 years, the Govt. may if they so determine release the estates in their hands till the end of such period.

5th- I will not interfere with any puttahs granted by the Collector for terms extending beyond the expiration of the attachment.

"6th- I will not openly or secretly exact or receive any contribution of any kind from the ryots.

7th - I will acquiesce in any resumption of any jageers made by Govt. during the period of attachment.

8th- The authorised officers of Govt. shall have unlimited power during the period of attachment to make fresh settlements at the cost of the Estate to grant Nuksami remissions and to secure Govt. in every way from pecuniary loss in the management of the Estates by deductions from the proceeds.

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> 9th- The Collector shall pay off the creditors in what order and on what manner may be considered expedient."[60]

The Collector of Cuttack reported for consideration and orders of the Commissioner of Cuttack that the Raja of Kujang had petitioned to allow the three illegitimate sons of the late Sudarsan Samant from the profits of his Killa a sum of Rs. 12/- until they attained their majority.[61] Sudarsan Samant was also an illegitimate brother to the present Raja and under orders of the Civil Court he would draw Rs. 30/- per month as his subsistence allowance from the Salt Revenue Department of the Killa. But this sum had now been attached on the part of the Raja by an order of the Collector of Cuttack.[62]

The Commissioner of Cuttack sanctioned the payment to the Amla of Kujang Tahsil till the end of December 1859. The orders releasing the estate of Kujang from the management of the British arrived sometimes late. But principally owing to the perverse refusal of the Raja to take over the papers, it had not been possible to carry them fully into effect till the end of December 1859. The establishment was necessarily maintained in the mean time.[63]

In 1867-68 the condition of Killa Kujang came under the consideration of the Governement in connection with a general proposition made by the Commissioner of the Orissa Division for the management of the Involved Peshkash Estates in Orissa, based on a special representation regarding this estate and others. This representation was to the effect that the representatives of the old families who owned the estates were hopelessly involved in debt and would most surely be dispossessed if the Governement did not take possession of the estates and induce the creditors to stay execution of their decrees. This estate on a previous occasion had been under the management of the local authorities and also under the Court of

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Wards. In the course of time, however, the interference of Government ceased and since then it had been drifting into debt, the proprietor being entirely in the hands of the amlas and creditors, and so utterly helpless that he was not able to afford the slightest assistance to his territory even during the height of the famine of 1866.[64]

The estate of Kujang was so deeply involved and the evils of its condition so aggravated by the effects of the famine, that the revenue authorities considered it useless to attempt to resuscitate it on behalf of its proprietor. The annual interest payable on his debts amounted to Rs. 40,757/- while the net rental of the estate did not exceed Rs.45,513/-. The only way of helping the Zamindar, therefore, was for the Government to advance the money due to his creditors- a result which was not likely to be for the benefit of the tenantry,while, if the Government withheld from interfering in the matter, there was every probability of the estate being sold in execution of decrees. And if the purchaser were a resident in the province the tenantry were likely to benefit by the change. It was for these reasons which determined that since nothing could be done by Government in the interests of the Zamindar which would at the same time certainly tend to the benefit of their tenantry the best course to take would be not to interfere in the matter at all, and this view was accepted by the Government of India and the Secratary of State.[65]

The dissoluteness and extravagance of the proprietors and the effects of the famine of 1866 involved the estate of Kujang heavily in debt. During the famine of 1866 seventy-five percent of people died in Kujang or left the estate. Its annual income fell form Rs. 64,000/- to a mere Rs. 26,000/-. Land fell fallow. Desperate to find a way out of the crisis, the Raja consulted Choudhury Raghunath Dash of Bhingarpur, Gourishyam Jena of Cuttack, Ram Narayan Bhagat and Mohammed Amin Khan, and in accordance with Act VIII, Section 243 of 1859, mortgaged the estate and prayed for

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repaying the debt in instalments to the Decree-holders. Accordingly, the estate was attached for 2 years. But the loan could not be repaid. So in the Court of Sub-Judge, Cuttack, on 18 May 1868 Kujang was made for auction openly. The representative of Smt. Narayan Kumari, the Maharani of Burdwan, Babu Kailash Chandra Chattopadhyay bought the estate in $5^1/_2$ lakhs, although Choudhury Parasuram Dash, Gourishayam Jena and Golak Chandra Basu made the auction upto 5 lakhs. Though the Maharani of Burdwan purchased the estate in 1868, she could not take possession of it till 1870. Bidyadhar Sendh, the Raja of Kujang lost hope in obtaining back his estate when he became unsuccessful in a case filed against the British. At last, finding no other way, when he was denied possession of a few villages and 1100 acres of fertile land as his debottar property, he took shelter of the High Court. But he lost the case in 1875 and committed suicide thereafter. [66]

Thus, all the wealth of the Raja of Kujang ended. One of the chief and important royal dynasty of Orissa was destroyed. It was a very sad episode indeed in the history of Orissa. John Beames, Collector of Cuttack, had requested the Maharaja of Burdwan to save the royal dynasty from destruction. But the latter opined that if the Raja of Kujang refrained from filing suit, he would have arranged a pension of Rs. 5000/- in shape of land-earning for the Raja. Utkal Dipika, an Oriya periodical, observed that no one could say the result of the Civil Suit, and to defeat the Maharaja of Burdwan one had to spend huge amount of money. As the Kujang Raja had no money, he could not take the case to England. It was not wise on the part of poor people like the Raja to fight or indulge in civil or criminal cases. The Raja should, therefore, have refrained himself from such indulgences.[67]

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SEVEN

During the period from 1871 to 1877 the question of the conduct of the zamindars who had distinguished themselves in undertaking improvements in their villages arose. In Cuttack the Maharanee of Burdwan got some protective embankments constructed in Kujang estate which was recently purchased by her. This lady had been a liberal subscriber to all good works. Babu Digamber Mitra who held extensive zamindaries in Cuttack had also responded to calls for subscriptions. These absentee land-lords, however, knew and saw little or nothing of their estates which were managed by the agents, not always trustworthy or judicious.[1] The Maharaja of Burdwan who had recently purchased the Kujang estate, was most liberal and disposed to do all he could for the benefit and improvment of his estate. He was represented in Cuttack by an agent but his attention had been a good deal occupied in litigation. The Burdwan Maharanee who was believed to be a de facto purchaser of Kujang had recently made over to the Government a considerable tract of land around the False Point. This was a very munificent gift and had beeen acknowledged by the Governement.[2]

The conduct of zamindars in Orissa was as a rule bad. The Rajas also managed their estates in a somewhat patriarchal fashion, but it seemed that the position of the raiyats was on the whole freer and life was easier under the sway of the Rajas than under the grinding petty tyranny of the zamindars. There were many absentee proprietors, and although some of them - Maharaja of Burdwan and Babu Digambar Mitra-bore high reputation, yet from the actual observation their Orissa estates were much better managed than those of the Oriya zamindars. The Maharaja of Burdwan had the able local managers, but they seemed hardly as yet

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to have got full hold over the wilds of Kujang. The agent of Digamber Mitra was in spite of his master's confidene in him, not by any means a satisfactory person.[3] In the ensuing years, when trouble arose again, the Commissioner of Orissa Division summoned the raiyats and izradars of the estate of Kujang to assemble at Tikri, the headquarters of the estate. He tried to aid the zamindar by explaining to the raiyats that it was advisable to come to a speedy settlement with Raj Kumar Mitra, a member of the Maharaja's Council, who had been specially deputed to look into the state of the property and to settle the differences that had arisen between the occupants and the previous manager. Floods of 1879 and 1880 caused great damage to Kujang. Moreover, its raiyats were not on good terms with their landlord.[4]

On the death of the Maharaja of Burdwan, the estate of Kujang came under the management of the Court of Wards, and in 1887 a settlement of the estate was carried out under Act X of 1859. The garh of Kujang was excluded from the scope of the settlement operation of 1892-98 and 1906-12. But during the settlement of 1922-32 records of rights were prepared and rents were settled under the provisions of the Orissa Tenancy Act. Subsequently, the estate remained under the management of the Court of Wards, under Section 6(e) of the Court of Wards Act.[5]

In 1929 Maharaja Uday Chand Mahtab visited the estate of Kujang along with his youngest son Kumar Abhay Chand Bahadur. They were given a grand reception by Rajendra Kumar Sen, the Sub-Manager of the state and Prahllad Charan Patnaik, the Chariman of the Reception Committee. In an address to the people of Kujang the Maharaja expressed his views that the welfare of the people depended on the welfare of the king: so also the prosperity of the king depended on the wellbeings of the subject-population.[6] Nevertheless, ill-feeling continued to sway among the fishermen-raiyats against the ruler of Kujang.

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By the time British Orissa had been surcharged with the Civil Disobedience Movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. Kujang played a prominent role under the leadership of Narayan Birabar Samant, and Choudhury Karunakar Patnaik.[7] The kingdom which was sold like a commodity fifty years ago, once again aroused its peasantry as well as the royal household population to fight against the British. Kujang joined the mainstream of the freedom movement by breaking the British Salt Laws and throwing its whole peasantry to the cause of the nation.

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APPENDIX - 1*

Statement of the Property belonging to the Estate of Kujang deposited in this Treasury :

One Gold Gugles with Chain and Cover.
One Do Cosseih on Vessel used for making Ceremony.
One Pair of Gold Bangles.
One Pair of (Ditto)Panjeeb or foot ornament with Button and fifty Ghoongoors or Small Bells.
Two Strings containing 107 Gold Beads.
One Gold Cullush.
One pair of Gold Bangles (hollow)
One Gold square arm ornament.
Four arm ornaments each of which three pieces Gold.
Three small Gold Bangles.
Two pieces of Gold chains for the legs.
One small piece of Gold.
One Cowtah or Cellar with its cover for keeping Redbad.
One string containing 222 small Gold Beads and 1 Button
One string of 2 rows both containing 68 Gold Beads.
One piece of naukchonah or Nose Ring.
One Gold Chausttee or Hoop piece.
One Gold Small Thin Ring.
One Gold Chain 5 Inches Long.
One Gold Madoole.
One small piece of Gold.
One small Gold Madoolee.
One pair of Gold Culgah one of which has no handle.

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* Orissan Rocords, Cuttack District (Revenue), Acc. No. 8C.

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One String mathamallha of 2 xxx containing 115 Gold Beads with 2 Chukties and a Ghoondee.
One pair of Strings of Thin Gold Beads with 2 Chukties.
One large silver Bowl.
One Large silver Pan.
One Flat Piece of Silver.
Three Boxes with Covers Silver.
One piece of mulcooree or Ear ornament (Do)
One small piece of chain (Do)
One small and thin silver Bangle
One silver small Dish.
One (Do) (smaller) Dish.
One String containing 76 Pearls, 81 Corals and a Joognoo set with 4 Blue coloured and three red coloured stones with a string containing 1 plain Pearl and 1 Pearl Blue coloured.
Two strings containing 352 corals.
One Pounchee of 7 corals with 6 Gold Beads and 1 Button.
One String with a Taubaeg set with a small diamond containing 27 corals and 24 gold beads.
One Pounchee containing 5 corals and 9 moonee.
One Pounchee containing 5 corals 4 gold beads, 10 Gold Chuktees and one Gold Ghoondee.
One Pounchee containing 7 Corals 6 Golden Beads and one Golden Ghoondee.
One Pounchee containing 8 corals of sorts with a moonee.
One Pounchee containing 8 corals of sorts with Ghoondee and 5 Gold Beads.
One Pounchee containing 7 corals 7 Gold Beads and 1 Ghoondee
One pounchee containing 7 corals 6 Golden Beads and 1 Ghoondee
One Pounchee containing 5 corals 4 Gold Beads 10 gold chauktees and 1 Gold Ghoondee.
One Pounchee containing 7 corals 6 Golden Beads and Gold Ghoondee one.

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One Gold chain with 4 corals 4 Gold Chaukties and one Gold Bead with a Hook.
One string containing 81 small corals 17 Ducats 60 small Gold Beads 1 Gold Mohur and Gold Ghoondee.
One string containing 44 small corals with Ghoondee 22 Gold Beads anbd 21 pieces of Quarter Gold Mohur.
One string containing 62 small corals 61 Gold small Beads and one small Gold Ghoondee.
One string of 47 corals of sorts and 7 gold square chaukties three Gold mondoolas of Taubeejs and one Gold large taubeez with a Red Moonee.
One pounchee of 11 corals
One Poonchee containing 5 corals and 1 Moonee.
One string containing 58 corals with Ghoondee 7 Gold taubeezs 4 Gold Moondoolies and two copper Taubeezes.
One pounchee containing 5 corals with Ghoondee and one maree set in Gold.
One Gold chain containing 4 corals, 1 Bead, 4 Chaukties and one Gold Hook.
One string containing 56 corals of sorts 35 Gold Beads with 16 new Gold Mohurs and 1 old with a gold ghoondee.
One string containing 75 small corals, 41 Gold Beads, 16 Ducats, 1 Gold Choondee and 1 Gold Mohur.
One Gold Chain containing 4 Corals, 1 Gold Bead with a Hook.
One String containing 46 corals with Ghoondee.
One Pooinchee containing 8 corals and two Roodrakhee set in Gold one string of 68 corals.
Seventeen Gold Rings Viat.
Three Rings Set with a Pummurroodee stone each
Four....... Ditto.... Ditto.......Rubees Ditto
One.....Ditto......Ditto....Neelum.... Ditto..
One...... Ditto..... Ditto... Small Diamond.
One..... Ditto.... Set with Rubbees 4 Small Diamond, 4 Jummurrodee.

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One.... Ditto.... Ditto a Coomade 2 Jacoots.
One....Ditto..... Ditto.. 4 Jacoots 1 small piece of Punnah.
One .... Ditto...Set with small Rubee and one Rosoonish.
One.....Ditto....Ditto 2 Jacoots and One Small Diamond.
One... Ditto...Ditto Seven pieces of white stones.
One pair of Gold Ear Ornaments set with small jacoot and small pearls.
One pair of gold Ear Ornaments set with small Jacoot and samll diamond.
One Gold Jeggah or Head Ornament set with Jacoot, Jummurrodee and small pearls, with a pearl affixed.
One pair of Gold ornaments set with small pearls and Jacoots.
One Ditto........ Ditto.... Ditto.... Ditto..
One pair Ear Ornaments with a gold chain set with Diamond Jacoots small pearls and one Pannah.
One Ear Ornament set with 5 Pearls of sorts, 4 Large Pearls and a Jummud.
One pair of small Ear Ornaments (4 Pearls wanting)
One pair of Ear Ornaments with Pearls.
One Gold arm ornament set with Jacoots and Diamond.
One Small piece of Punnah.
Two small Pearls.
One Gold Tioka or Head Ornament with 13 Pearls.
One Ditto..... Ditto Set with 5 Jummuroodee stones and four strings of small pearls.
One string Gold Champeullee or Neck Ornament with 26 Pearls.
Two Jiggas or Head Ornamnets.
One Jigga or Head Ornament Set with Jummorrodee.
Three pairs of Gold Arm ornaments set with sundry false stones.
One String Conatining 97 corals and 94 pearls.
One pair of Gold Bangles set with Rubees/4 of which is wanting .
One Bangle set with Diamond, the pin of which is wanting.
One Bangle called Suptofunnee with her small strings and with one Ghoondee.

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One pair of Gold Cunkun or Arm Ornament.
One Small (broken) Arm Ornament Set with Sundry false stones.
One string of 2 rows containing 225 Pealrs.
One Small Pearl.
Seven Small Corals.
Nine Corals or Sorts.
Fifty Eight Sicca Rupees.
One hundred and Eighteen Arcot Rupees.
Twenty anmilled Siccas.
Twelve Fanams.
Sixty Sicca Ducats.
Nine pieces or Arcot Gold Mohurs.

Zillah Cuttack the 10th March 1807
(Signed) G. Webb. Collector.

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APPENDIX - II **

Extract of a petition from Chunder Dhoja, Rajah of Coojung.

That your petition has now only some golden jewels etc. mounted with precious stones and golden and silver untensils etc. remaining which are in the Hon'ble Company's Judges' Court at Cuttack, a Catalogue of which he begs leave to submit accompanying.

Judicial Department, The 15th October 1808

Copy

Catalogue of Goldgen Jewels mounted with Precious stones & Goldren and Silver Untensils belonging to the Chunder Dhoje, Depositted in to the Court of the Judge and Magistrate at Cuttack.

2 Golden Kumhamineted 3 pieces Golden Roodroo Kurry with precious stones with peals.

2. Do Pton Do 1 Qr. Golden Coonduls.

2 Do Kassah twisted mounted with precious stones.

1 piece Golden Kunkun red coloured stones mounted with precious stones.

1 piece Do Do ptan

6 pieces Golden Noolees, 1 Bundle Golden Feather

2 Do Golden Bauleahs for Jourbabd

3 Pieces Golden Bauboolies with 1 pieces Golden Banjoo Bund Pearls

The humble petition of Maddoosoodoon Sundow Rajah Nurrender Bahadorr of Coojung most humble sheweth

1 Golden Taubeej

6.Do Bunjoo band mounted, with diamonds

1 piece Golden- mounted with precious stones.

** OSA, Orissan Records, Cuttack, Acc. No. 13 (Revenue)

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2 Bunches Golden Pay tetive xxx ornaments for work.
xxxx Strings of Golden beads with Red Mallahs.
xxx Bunch Golden Puy to hue.
xxx Gundahs Golden round beads for son-t.
1. Golden Puytah
4. Strings Golden Kuptywall
6. Strings Golden beads.
4. Strings Golden Mustard beads/
4. Do Kunty together with two bouties, in each.
6. pieces of Golden Dhook Dhookies.
6. Do of Golden Dabooh.
2 xxx Strings etc. large round beads.
4 Do Golden pendy beads.
Several Golden strings mounted with precious stones not numbered
18 Golden Surpetah Kedyahs mounted with precious stones.
1 String Pearl
1 Do mouth snake
1 Golden country spoon
1 Do Cashap or Pantry
1 Golden Kunthy
1 Do Jug
2 Do Bauthis.
4 Golden ring for toes.
4 Golden chains for feet
1 String large coral bead.
1 Silver Chillemity
1 Do standing
2. piece Do Kurram
4 Silver Kiathahs
3 Do Small country spoon
100 (Hundred) Gold Mohur
300 Silver Rupees.

Judicial Department
The 15th October 1808

A True Copy
Signed by G. Dowdswell
Secretary

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GLOSSARY

Amla	-	A native officer of a revenue or judicial court; also a government servant of a subordinate rank.
Bakeya	-	Arrear dues.
Barkandaz	-	A guard, watchman – commonly applied to a native armed with a sword and shield.
Chakran	-	Jagir or service land.
Chowki	-	Post; the act of watching or guarding property.
Debottar	-	Land attached to the Gods or Goddesses, temples etc. for the maintenance.
Devashnana Purnima	-	Full moon Day falls in the month of June.
Garh	-	Small fort, usuallay the residence of local chiefs.
Gokha	-	A sect of fisherman caste.
Gomashta	-	A servant of the Zamindar, who collects rents from the tenants; an agent.
Hustabood	-	The area in which the zamindar collects direct from his tenants; a comprehensive account showing the present and past produce of an estate; yiedling revenue; or measurement of land.
Ikrarnama	-	An agreement.
Izradar	-	The farmer of a village, markets etc.
Jaidad	-	Paternal or ancestral property or asset.
Jamadar	-	An officer of police, customs or excise, second to the daroga.
Jumma	-	Revenue or Rent; Assessment.
Jummabandi	-	The collection of papers relating to the proceedings for the settlement of rents.
Kacheri	-	A court, an office, or the place where any government business is transacted.

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Kahan - A measure of value equal to sixteen panas of Kauri shells or 1280 Kauris.

Kauri - Shells (a small white shell generally divided down the middle found on the sea-shore)

Keot - Fisherman by caste.

Khandayat - A name of a class of military landholder residing in the hills, in killas or fortified dwellings and holding their lands at a quit-rent on condition of acting as a feudal militia.

Khanja - Maintenance grants for the holders, especially the relatives of the feudal chiefs or the zamindars.

Khood kast - Cultivating one's own field.

Killajat(Quillajat) - Estates of which the revenue was fixed by Regulation XII of 1805.

Kist - Instalment of revenue or rent.

Lakhiraj - Revenue free land.

Mahajan - A banker or creditor of money etc.

Mahal - Used for 'estate' or belonging to the estate i.e., not in the possession of tenants holding under tenure holders or other middlemen.

Moghulbandi - The level and cultivated portion of Orissa from which the Moghal emperors derived their revenue; coastal districts of Orissa (Balasore, Cuttack and Puri) under the direct British administration as contra-distinguished from the tributary mahals or garjats or the western part of Orissa.

Mokhtar - An authorised agent, an attorney, a lawyer.

Moquddum - Headman; a class of proprietory tenure-holders or sub-proprietors.

Mouza - Revenue village or cluster of villages, group of villages.

Moharir - A clerk, a scribe.

Munsiff - A judge, applied under the British Government to a native civil judge of the first or lowest rank.

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Pahi	-	Non-resident raiyats who are mainly tenants-at-will.
Parwana	-	An order, a written command.
Peadah	-	A foot man, a messenger.
Peshkash	-	Quit- revenue, a tribute.
Phulbaee	-	Respectable concubine who was accepted through left hand marriage system.
Potta	-	A lease given to a raiyat showing his lands, and his rent and the period for which it was fixed; document of lease.
Sarbarakar	-	Originally a farmer of the revenue who has now in many cases become a proprietory tenure-holder.
Sardar	-	A chief, an honorific term, militia head.
Taliqua	-	List.
Zamindar	-	Proprietors directly responsible to the estate for the revenue of the land they own.

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-do- No. 171 (-do-)
-do- No. 179 (-do-)
-do- No. 251 (-do-)
Accession No. 194 (Judicial)
-do- No. 206 (-do-)
-do- No. 207 (-do-)
-do- No. 216 (-do-)
-do- No. 232 (-do-)
-do- No. 237 (-do-)
-do- No. 240 (-do-)
-do- No. 243 (-do-)
-do- No. 249 (-do-)

3. Cuttack District Volumes :

Accession No. 2C
-do- No. 5C
-do- No. 7C
-do- No. 8C
-do- No. 10 (Revenue)

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Accession No. 11 (Revenue)
-do- No. 13 (-do-)
-do- No. 15 (-do-)
-do- No. 20 (-do-)
-do- No. 21 (-do-)
-do- No. 26 (-do-)
-do- No. 27 (-do-)
-do- No. 28 (-do-)
-do- No. 30 (-do-)
-do- No. 32 (-do-)
-do- No. 33 (-do-)
-do- No. 35 (-do-)
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-do- No. 45 -do-
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-do- No. 344-do-
-do- No. 350-do-
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-do- No. 354-do-
-do- No. 355-do-
-do- No. 362-do-
-do- No. 387-do-

4. Loose Correspondence :

Letter No. Nil, 28 August 1805
Letter No. Nil, 28 April 1806
Letter No. Nil, 3 August 1807
Letter No. 36, 18 May 1809

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